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* * * *Table of Contents* * * *

VOLUME LXXIV, NUMBER 2

DECEMBER 1968

Articles

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY AND THE LAW OF LIBEL: A HISTORIAN'S VIEW, by Alfred H. Kelly	429
CHANGING CONCEPTS OF PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES: NEW YORK, 1815- 1828, by Michael Wallace	453
INUKAI TSUYOSHI: SOME DILEMMAS IN PARTY DEVELOPMENT IN PRE-WORLD WAR II JAPAN, by Tetsuo Najita	492
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE GERMAN <i>REICHSTAG</i> , 1871-1918, by James J. Sheehan	511

Review Note

<i>Bernstein</i> , ed., <i>TOWARDS A NEW PAST: DISSENTING ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY</i> , by Aileen S. Kraditor and David Donald	529
---	-----

Reviews of Books

General

<i>Clark</i> , THE CRITICAL HISTORIAN, by P. L. Ward	534
<i>Elton</i> , THE PRACTICE OF HISTORY, by R. T. Vann	534
<i>Rashevsky</i> , LOOKING AT HISTORY THROUGH MATHEMATICS, by C. B. Boyer	536
<i>Kahn</i> , THE CODEBREAKERS, by K. Larew <i>Toynbee et al.</i> , CITIES OF DESTINY, by B. Still	538
MÉLANGES OFFERTS À G. JACQUEMYS, by A. H. Kittell	539
<i>Breen et al.</i> , THE IMPACT OF THE CHURCH UPON ITS CULTURE, II, by R. H. Bainton	540
<i>Pope-Hennessy</i> , SINS OF THE FATHERS, by E. D. Grovse	542
<i>Lewis</i> , ed., ASPECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE, by R. Starn	542
<i>Breen</i> , CHRISTIANITY AND HUMANISM, by F. E. Cranz	543
<i>Peyre</i> , HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ESSAYS, by F. B. Artz	544
<i>Friedrich</i> , THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM ABROAD, by D. Fellman	545
<i>Schonland</i> , THE ATONISTS (1805-1933), by J. L. Heilbron	545
<i>Bourne and Watt</i> , eds., STUDIES IN IN- TERNATIONAL HISTORY, by W. M. Franklin	546
<i>Daniel-Rops</i> , OUR BROTHERS IN CHRIST, 1870-1959, X, by O. J. Brose	547
<i>Roazen</i> , FREUD, by M. R. Dearing	548
<i>Psomiades</i> , THE EASTERN QUESTION, by H. N. Howard	549
<i>Beeson</i> , tr., HENRY E. SIGERIST; <i>Miller</i> , ed., A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF HENRY E. SIGERIST, by R. H. Shryock	550
LE SAINT SIÈGE ET LA GUERRE EN EUROPE, JUN 1940-JUN 1941, by G. O. Kent	552
<i>Young</i> , NEGOTIATING WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, by J. K. Fairbank	553

Ancient

<i>Starr</i> , THE AWAKENING OF THE GREEK HISTORICAL SPIRIT, by T. S. Brown	554
<i>Saumagne</i> , LA NUMIDIE ET ROME, by R. M. Haywood	555
<i>Chadwick</i> , THE EARLY CHURCH, I, by A. Cabaniss	555
<i>Schäferdiek</i> , DIE KIRCHE IN DEN REICHEN DER WESTGOTEN UND SUEWEN BIS ZUR ERRICHTUNG DER WESTGOTISCHEN KATHOLISCHEN STAATSKIRCHE, by R. E. Sullivan	556

Medieval

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS, No. 20, by S. Vryonis, Jr.	557
DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS, No. 21, by P. J. Alexander	558
<i>Geanakoplos</i> , BYZANTINE EAST AND LATIN WEST, by M. V. Anastos	560
<i>Colgrave</i> , ed., THE EARLIEST LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT, BY AN ANONY- MOUS MONK OF WHITBY, by J. D. A. Ogilvy	561
<i>Richardson and Sayles</i> , LAW AND LEGIS- LATION, by R. S. Hoyt	561
<i>Riley-Smith</i> , THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN JERUSALEM AND CYPRUS, C. 1050- 1310, by M. W. Baldwin	562
<i>Darby and Finn</i> , eds., THE DOMESDAY GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND, by C. W. Hollister	563
<i>Cronne and Davis</i> , eds., REGESTA REGUM ANGLO-NORMANNORUM, 1066-1154, III, by J. Beeler	564
<i>Offler</i> , ed., DURHAM EPISCOPAL CHARTERS, 1071-1152, by J. Dahmus	565
<i>Butte</i> , GESCHICHTE DRESDENS BIS ZUR REFORMATIONSZEIT, by C.-P. Clasen	566
<i>Cassidy</i> , THE SEA AROUND THEM, by A. R. Lewis	567
<i>Thierfelder</i> , ed., DAS ÄLTFESTE ROSTOCKER STADTBUCH (ETWA 1254-1273), by C. C. Bayley	568

Table of Contents—Continued

iii

<i>Kayband, LE GOUVERNEMENT ET L'ADMINISTRATION CENTRALE DE L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN SOUS LES PREMIERS PALÉOLOGUES (1258-1354),</i> by P. Charanis	569	<i>Hill, REFORMATION TO INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, I,</i> by J. M. Price	595
<i>Stussi, ed., ZIBALDONE DA CANAL,</i> by H. C. Krueger	570	<i>Williams, ELIZABETH THE FIRST, QUEEN OF ENGLAND,</i> by M. Lee, Jr.	596
<i>Graves, ed., ACCOUNTS RENDERED BY PAPAL COLLECTORS IN ENGLAND, 1317-1378,</i> by J. Rosenthal	570	<i>PRIVY COUNCIL REGISTERS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, I,</i> by C. A. Edie	597
<i>Lehoux, JEAN DE FRANCE, DUC DE BERRI, II,</i> by J. R. Strayer	571	<i>Young, ed., THE CIVIL WAR, RICHARD ATKYNS; Tucker, ed., JOHN GWYN; Brett-James, ed., EDWARD COSTELLO; Selby, ed., THOMAS MORRIS,</i> by S. J. Stearns	598
<i>Nyberg, BIRGITINISCHE KLOSTERGRÜNDUNGEN DES MITTELALTERS,</i> by E. W. McDonnell	572	<i>Horwitz, REVOLUTION POLITICKS,</i> by J. P. Kenyon	599
<i>Touchar, LE COMMERCE MARITIME BRETON À LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE,</i> by K. F. Drew	573	<i>Rubini, COURT AND COUNTRY 1688-1702,</i> by R. Walcott	600
<i>Tyrrrell, A HISTORY OF THE ISLES OF POITOU,</i> by A. L. Moots	574	<i>Mukherjee, SIR WILLIAM JONES,</i> by M. Naidis	600
<i>Kristeller, RENAISSANCE PHILOSOPHY AND THE MEDIAEVAL TRADITION,</i> by H. Baron	575	<i>Jones and Mingay, eds., LAND, LABOUR AND POPULATION IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION,</i> by N. Rosenberg	601
<i>Mollat, prep., LE RÔLE DU SEL DANS L'HISTOIRE,</i> by C. K. Warner	576	<i>Stanlis, ed., EDMUND BURKE,</i> by R. J. S. Hoffman	604
Modern Europe		<i>Aspinall, ed., THE LATER CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE III, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II, III; Aspinall, ed., THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES 1770-1812, IV,</i> by J. W. Wilkes	605
<i>Bush, RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION AND THE OUTER WORLD, 1450-1600,</i> by E. F. Rice, Jr.	577	<i>Tobias, CRIME AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY,</i> by D. Peirce	606
<i>Schwobel, THE SHADOW OF THE CRESCENT,</i> by W. J. Bogusnia	578	<i>Clark, AN EXPANDING SOCIETY; Church, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A MIDLAND TOWN,</i> by A. Briggs	607
<i>Levenett, THE SPIRIT OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION,</i> by R. H. Bainton	579	<i>Himmeljarb, VICTORIAN MINDS,</i> by P. D. Jones	608
<i>Kainer, comp., NUNTATURBERICHTE AUS DEUTSCHLAND, 2d Ser., 1500-1572, VIII,</i> by L. C. Gabel	580	<i>Read, CORDEN AND BRIGHT,</i> by D. Roberts	609
<i>Toupin, ed., CORRESPONDANCE DU NONCE EN FRANCE GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASTELLI (1581-1583),</i> by A. Sorian	581	<i>Ames, PRINCE ALBERT AND VICTORIAN TASTE,</i> by R. Emery	610
<i>Anderson and Anderson, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,</i> by P. N. Stearns	581	<i>Bowen, THE IDEA OF THE VICTORIAN CHURCH,</i> by P. T. Marsh	611
<i>Bush, VENETIA REDEEMED,</i> by W. C. Askew	583	<i>Norman, ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND,</i> by J. L. Altholz	612
<i>Schieder et al., eds., HANDBUCH DER EUROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE, VI,</i> by H. W. Gatzke	584	<i>Curtis, ANGLO-SAXONS AND CELTS,</i> by M. D. Condon	613
<i>Ullman, ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1917-1927, II,</i> by S. R. Graubard	585	<i>Norris, THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR, 1838-1842,</i> by T. R. Metcalf	614
<i>Laurens, FRANCE AND THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS 1935-1936,</i> by J. C. King	586	<i>Waterfield, LAYARD OF NINEVEH,</i> by S. J. Hurwitz	615
<i>McSherry, STALIN, HITLER, AND EUROPE, I,</i> by M. Beloff	587	<i>McIntyre, THE IMPERIAL FRONTIER IN THE TROPICS, 1865-75,</i> by J. S. Galbraith	616
<i>Kimche, THE UNFOUGHT BATTLE,</i> by T. Higgins	588	<i>Lloyd, THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880,</i> by H. J. Hanham	617
<i>WRITINGS ON BRITISH HISTORY, 1901-1933, I-III,</i> by C. F. Mullett	589	<i>Boura, MEMORIES, 1898-1939,</i> by T. R. S. Broughton	618
<i>Wagner, HERALDS OF ENGLAND,</i> by J. G. A. Pocock	590	<i>Martin, THE NEW AGE UNDER ORAGE,</i> by J. F. C. Harrison	619
<i>Crofts, PACKHORSE, WAGGON AND POST,</i> by M. Campbell	591	<i>Dixon, DOUBLE DIPLOMA,</i> by L. Woodward	620
<i>Scarisbrick, HENRY VIII,</i> by W. T. MacCaffrey	592	<i>Medlicott, CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND, 1914-1964,</i> by H. R. Winkler	621
<i>Shelby, JOHN ROGERS,</i> by D. A. Baugh	594	<i>Macmillan, THE BLAST OF WAR, 1939-1945,</i> by R. W. Lyman	622
		<i>McCaffrey, THE IRISH QUESTION, 1800-1922,</i> by J. M. Hernon, Jr.	623

<i>Van Voris</i> , CONSTANCE DE MARKIEVICZ IN THE CAUSE OF IRELAND, by W. Hogeboom	624	DEUTSCHLANDS, by H. Holborn	650
<i>Wolff</i> , pub., HISTOIRE DU LANGUEDOC, by D. Bitton	624	<i>Roos</i> , NEUORDNUNG IM WIDERSTAND, by K. von Klemperer	651
<i>Deyon</i> , AMIENS, CAPITALE PROVINCIALE, by R. Forster	625	<i>Thadden</i> , FELDMARSCHALL DAUN, by T. M. Barker	652
<i>Lekai</i> , THE RISE OF THE CISTERCIAN STRICT OBSERVANCE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE, by W. F. Church	626	<i>Grütter</i> , JOHANNES VON MÜLLERS BEGEG- NUNG MIT ENGLAND, by R. Anchor <i>Martines</i> , LAWYERS AND STATECRAFT IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE, by W. K. Ferguson	653 654
<i>Holtman</i> , THE NAPOLEONIC REVOLUTION, by C. Brinton	627	<i>Breisach</i> , CATERINA SFORZA, by D. Wein- stein	655
<i>Verucci</i> , ed., L'AVENIR, 1830-1831, by P. M. Stearns	628	<i>Ridolfi</i> , THE LIFE OF FRANCESCO GUICCI- ARDINI, by F. Gilbert	656
L'ACTUALITÉ DE PROUDHON, by R. H. Bowen	629	<i>Coniglio</i> , I VICERÈ SPAGNOLI DI NAPOLI, by R. A. Goldthwaite	657
<i>Gilpin</i> , FRANCE IN THE AGE OF THE SCI- ENTIFIC STATE; <i>Servan-Schreiber</i> , LE DÉFI AMÉRICAIN, and THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE, by J. M. Laux	630	<i>Izzo</i> , LA POPOLAZIONE CALABRESE NEL SECOLO XIX, by M. Salvadori	658
<i>Ziebur</i> , LÉON BLUM ET LE PARTI SO- CIALISTE, 1872-1934, by J. Colton	632	<i>Pelloux</i> , QUELQUES SOUVENIRS DE MA VIE, by A. W. Salomone	658
<i>Beaufre</i> , 1940, by J. C. Cairns	633	<i>Amoja</i> , DECLINO E PRIMA CRISI DEL- L'EUROPA DI VERSAILLES, by R. Grew	660
<i>Schulte</i> , THE SPANISH PRESS, 1470-1966, by C. J. Kolinski	634	<i>Prodan</i> , IOBĂGIA ÎN TRANSILVANIA ÎN SECOLUL AL XVI-LEA, I and II, by K. Hitchins	661
<i>Sanz</i> , VIGENCIA ACTUAL DE LUIS VIVES, by R. I. Burns	635	<i>Prodan</i> , SUPPLEX LIBELLUS VALACHORUM, by K. Hitchins	662
<i>Hills</i> , FRANCO, by J. E. Fagg	636	<i>Adâniloae</i> and <i>Berindei</i> , REFORMA AGRARĂ DIN 1864; <i>Bodea</i> , LUPTA ROMÂNILOR PENTRU UNITATEA NA- ȚIONALĂ, 1834-1849, by S. Fischer- Galati	664
ACTA HISTORIAE NEERLANDICA, II, by S. B. Baxter	637	<i>Hoensch</i> , DER UNGARISCHE REVISIONISMUS UND DIE ZERSCHLAGUNG DER TSCHECHE- SLOWAKEI, by R. V. Luza	665
<i>Roberts</i> , THE EARLY VASAS, by E. Ekman <i>Meyer</i> , ed., LUTHER FOR AN ECUMENICAL AGE, by H. J. Hillerbrand	638 639	<i>Kennan</i> , FROM PRAGUE AFTER MUNICH, by V. S. Mamatey	666
<i>Seebass</i> , DAS REFORMATORISCHE WERK DES ANDREAS OSIANDER, by H. J. Grimm <i>Reinger</i> , LANDESHERR UND LANDSTÄNDE IM HOCHSTIFT OSNABRÜCK IN DER MITTE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS, by W. J. McGill	639 640	<i>Xydis</i> , CYPRUS, by R. H. Davison	667
<i>Ramm</i> , GERMANY 1789-1919, by T. S. Hamerow	641	<i>Budovnit</i> , MONASTYRI NA RUSI I BOR'BA S NIMI KREST'IAN V XIV-XVI VEKAKH (PO "ZHITIAM SVIATYKH"), by R. O. Crummey	667
<i>Lange</i> , ÜBER POLITIK UND PHILOSOPHIE, by E. N. Anderson	642	<i>Kaplan</i> , RUSSIA AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, by W. Med- iger	668
<i>Dietrich</i> , ed., EUROPA UND DER NORD- DEUTSCHE BUND, by G. G. Windell	643	<i>Dukes</i> , CATHERINE THE GREAT AND THE RUSSIAN NOBILITY, by R. E. McGrew	669
<i>Straudmann</i> , ed., WALTHER RATHENAU TAGEBUCH 1907-1922, by H. A. Tur- ner, Jr.	644	<i>Curtiss et al.</i> , THE PEASANT IN NINE- TEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA, by S. H. Baron	670
<i>Hillgruber</i> , DEUTSCHLANDS ROLLE IN DER VORGESCHICHTE DER BEIDEN WELT- KRIEGE, by F. B. M. Hollyday	645	<i>Blackwell</i> , THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1800-1860, by G. L. Yaney	671
<i>Stürmer</i> , KOALITION UND OPPOSITION IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK, 1924-1928, by F. E. Hirsch	646	<i>Weeks</i> , THE FIRST BOLSHEVIK, by A. G. Mazour	673
AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918-1945, AUS DEM ARCHIV DES AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS, 1918-1945, Ser. B, II, by T. T. Helde	647	<i>Anweiler et al.</i> , REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA, by P. Avrich	674
<i>Drechsler</i> , DIE SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITER- PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (SAPD); <i>Kühnl</i> , DIE NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE LINKE, 1925-1930, by G. Braunthal	648	<i>Akhramzian</i> , ed., ISTORIA MEZHDUNA- RODNYKH OTNOSHENII I VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR, 1917-1967 GG., I, by A. E. Adams	675
<i>Vernekohl</i> , ed., HEINRICH BRÜNING, by A. Dorpalen	649	<i>Mackintosh</i> , JUGGERNAUT, by C. von Luttichau	676
<i>Heiber</i> , WALTER FRANK UND SEIN REICHS- INSTITUT FÜR GESCHICHTE DES NEUEN		<i>Bychkov</i> , PARTIZANSKOE DVIZHENIE V GODY VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY, 1941-1945, by J. A. Armstrong	677

Table of Contents—Continued

v

Near East

<i>Kypka et al.</i> , HISTORY OF IRANIAN LITERATURE, by W. J. Fischel	678
<i>Harik</i> , POLITICS AND CHANGE IN A TRADITIONAL SOCIETY, by C. Issawi	679
<i>Amin</i> , BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF (1747-1778), by W. J. Fischel	680

Africa

<i>Fischel</i> , prep., HISTORY OF EGYPT, by W. B. Bishai	680
<i>Gann and Duignan</i> , BURDEN OF EMPIRE, by R. O. Collins	682
<i>July</i> , THE ORIGINS OF MODERN AFRICAN THOUGHT, by P. D. Curtin	683
<i>Lewis</i> , POLITICS IN WEST AFRICA, by A. R. Zollberg	684
<i>Bley</i> , KOLONIALHERRSCHAFT UND SOZIALSTRUKTUR IN DEUTSCH-SÜDWESTAFRIKA, 1894-1914, by L. H. Gann	685

Asia and the East

<i>Maspero and Balazs</i> , HISTOIRE ET INSTITUTIONS DE LA CHINE ANCIENNE, by A. F. Wright	686
<i>Crozier</i> , TRADITIONAL MEDICINE IN MODERN CHINA, by G. Rosen	687
<i>Bennett</i> , JOHN FRYER, by A. Feuerwerker	688
<i>Cohen</i> , THE CRIMINAL PROCESS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1949-1963, by M. C. Wright	689
<i>Totman</i> , POLITICS IN THE TOKUGAWA BAKUFU, 1600-1843, by T. C. Smith	690
<i>Marshall</i> , CAPITALISM AND NATIONALISM IN PREWAR JAPAN, by D. M. Brown	691
<i>Myrdal</i> , ASIAN DRAMA, by A. Feuerwerker	693
<i>Low</i> , ed., SOUNDINGS IN MODERN SOUTH ASIAN HISTORY, by S. Wolpert	694
<i>Adamec</i> , AFGHANISTAN, 1906-1923, by R. N. Frye	695
<i>Buxton</i> , THE RIVERINA, 1861-1891, by S. C. McCulloch	695
<i>Shineberg</i> , THEY CAME FOR SANDALWOOD, by J. B. Condliffe	696
<i>Goodman</i> , DAVAO, by D. R. Sturtevant	697

Americas

<i>Sauer</i> , NORTHERN MISTS, by W. E. Washburn	698
<i>Leckie</i> , THE WARS OF AMERICA, by S. Conn	699
<i>Levy</i> , ORIGINS OF THE FIFTH AMENDMENT, by J. H. Smith	700
<i>Bailyn</i> , THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN POLITICS, by W. F. Craven	701
<i>Dietze</i> , AMERICA'S POLITICAL DILEMMA, by T. C. Cochran	702
<i>Samford and Hemphill</i> , BOOKBINDING IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA, by P. J. Parker	703
<i>Jones</i> , ed., DETAILED REPORTS ON THE SALZBURGER EMIGRANTS WHO SETTLED IN AMERICA EDITED BY SAMUEL URLSPERGER, I, by W. W. Abbot	703

<i>Labaree</i> , ed., THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, XI, by M. Savelle	704
<i>Ernst</i> , RUFUS KING, by L. H. Leder	705
<i>Bailey</i> , DEMOCRATS VS. REPUBLICANS, by R. F. Nichols	706
<i>Wright</i> , WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES, by W. S. Robinson	707
<i>Kett</i> , THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL PROFESSION, by D. L. Cowen	708
<i>Hutchinson and Rachal</i> , eds., THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON, IV, by W. W. Abbot	709
<i>Silver</i> , THE AMERICAN PRINTER, 1787-1825, by L. J. Cappon	710
<i>Rose</i> , PROLOGUE TO DEMOCRACY, by R. H. Brown	711
<i>Gilchrist</i> , ed., THE GROWTH OF THE SEAPORT CITIES, 1790-1825, by R. G. Albion	712
<i>Nasatir</i> , SPANISH WAR VESSELS ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1792-1796, by D. C. Cutter	713
<i>Carr</i> , PERILS, by J. P. Baughman	714
<i>Pinckney</i> , PAINTING IN TEXAS, <i>Hine</i> , BARTLETT'S WEST, by W. E. Hollon	715
<i>Tuveson</i> , REDEEMER NATION, by E. M. Burns	716
<i>Somkin</i> , UNQUIET EAGLE, by M. Meyers	717
<i>Van Deusen</i> , WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, by J. L. Thomas	718
<i>Lutz</i> , CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM, by W. D. Lewis	719
<i>Stern</i> , THE PANTARCH, by M. L. Dillon	720
<i>McDowell</i> , ed., NOW YOU HEAR MY HORN, by W. A. Beck	721
<i>Coulter</i> , WILLIAM MONTAGUE BROWNE, by J. J. Heslin	722
<i>Friedlaender and Butterfield</i> , eds., DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, III and IV, by H. Hamilton	722
<i>Wishy</i> , THE CHILD AND THE REPUBLIC, by R. M. Solomon	724
<i>Spaulding</i> , ed., ON THE WESTERN TOUR WITH WASHINGTON IRVING, by R. V. Haynes	725
<i>Mahon</i> , HISTORY OF THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR, 1835-1842, by D. Higginbotham	726
<i>Sibley</i> , THE PORT OF HOUSTON, by J. H. Kemble	727
<i>Dowie and Tredway</i> , eds., THE IMMIGRATION OF IDEAS, by K. O. Bjork	727
<i>Paulson</i> , RADICALISM & REFORM, by H. H. Quint	729
<i>Stein</i> , JOHN RUSKIN AND AESTHETIC THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1840-1900, by R. Drinnon	730
<i>Hansen</i> , QUEST FOR EMPIRE, by M. S. De Pillis	731
<i>Spitz</i> , LIFE IN TWO WORLDS, by R. M. Miller	732
<i>McDermott</i> , ed., AN ARTIST ON THE OVERLAND TRAIL, by J. C. Ewers	733
<i>Hayter</i> , THE TROUBLED FARMER, 1850-1900, by L. Atherton	734
<i>Wells</i> , THE SLAVE SHIP WANDERER, by C. B. Dew	735

<i>Ozannec</i> , WAGES IN PRACTICE AND THEORY, by A. M. Johnson	736	ANNA ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, by J. N. Rosenau	761
<i>Vandiver et al.</i> , ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, by R. Hartje	737	<i>Kenan</i> , MEMOIRS, 1925-1950, by R. W. Leopold	762
<i>Voegeli</i> , FREE BUT NOT EQUAL, by B. Quarles	738	<i>Fermi</i> , ILLUSTRIOUS IMMIGRANTS, by G. L. Mosse	763
<i>Selby</i> , STONEWALL JACKSON AS MILITARY COMMANDER, by T. H. Williams	739	<i>Gerson</i> , JOHN FOSTER DULLES, by L. C. Gardner	764
<i>Olsen</i> , ed., THE THIN DISGUISE, by L. H. Fishel, Jr.	739	<i>Katcher</i> , EARL WARREN, by O. A. Pease	766
<i>Harris</i> , PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSISSIPPI, by W. C. Nunn	740	<i>Mayo</i> , THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT, by J. K. Mahon	767
<i>Cousins</i> , JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS, by C. N. Degler	742	<i>Zienke</i> , STALINGRAD TO BERLIN, by N. Luxenburg	768
<i>Hacker</i> , THE WORLD OF ANDREW CARNEGIE, by T. C. Cochran	743	FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944, VII, by C. A. Bacarisse	769
<i>Jackson</i> , THE ENTERPRISING SCOT, by O. O. Winther	744	FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945, II, by R. A. Esthus	770
<i>Kuykendall</i> , THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM, III, by H. W. Bradley	745	FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945, V, by L. L. Gerson	771
<i>Cooper</i> , THE CONSERVATIVE REGIME, by A. J. Goings	746	<i>Brown</i> , THE FACES OF POWER, by W. LaFeber	772
<i>Lubove</i> , THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL SECURITY, 1900-1935, by D. Brody	747	<i>Sheldon</i> , HELL OR HIGH WATER, by S. L. Falk	773
<i>Kelly</i> , THE NAVAJO INDIANS AND FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY, 1900-1935, by B. D. Madsen	748	<i>Cox</i> , THE WARREN COURT, by D. Fellman	773
<i>Gilbert</i> , WRITERS AND PARTISANS, by S. Persons	749	<i>Dulles</i> , THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION, by A. Meier	774
<i>Billington</i> , THOMAS P. GORE, by D. J. Tweton	750	<i>Berman</i> , AMERICA IN THE SIXTIES, by J. P. Diggins	775
<i>Einstein</i> , A DIPLOMAT LOOKS BACK, by R. Dallek	751	<i>Craig</i> , THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, by R. W. Winks	777
<i>Penick</i> , PROGRESSIVE POLITICS AND CONSERVATION, by M. L. Fausold	751	<i>Bottomore</i> , CRITICS OF SOCIETY, by C. A. Barker	777
<i>Gracy</i> , LITTLEFIELD LANDS, by P. W. Gates	753	PROFILES OF A PROVINCE, by G. Smith	778
<i>Link et al.</i> , eds., THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON, IV, by H. W. Bragdon	753	<i>Thomson</i> , LOUIS ST. LAURENT, by H. F. Quinn	779
<i>Bragdon</i> , WOODROW WILSON, by E. D. Cronon	754	<i>Lower</i> , MY FIRST SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS, by H. Neatby	780
<i>Levin</i> , WOODROW WILSON AND WORLD POLITICS, by L. E. Ellis	755	<i>Alba</i> , POLITICS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, by R. J. Alexander	781
<i>Cary</i> , THE INFLUENCE OF WAR ON WALTER LIPPMANN, 1914-1944, by E. S. Beard	756	<i>Cumberland</i> , MEXICO, by S. R. Ross	782
<i>Hudson</i> , HOSTILE SKIES, by R. F. Futrell	757	<i>Logan</i> , HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, by M. J. MacLeod	783
<i>Morrison</i> , W. J. CASH, by T. D. Clark	758	<i>Poppino</i> , BRAZIL, by M. Rodríguez	784
<i>Hess</i> , ed., STRUGGLE IN THE COAL FIELDS, by J. G. Rayback	759	<i>Pocock</i> , THE CONQUEST OF CHILE, by C. Gibson	785
<i>Schmidt</i> , DOUGLASS COLLEGE, by R. E. Miller	760	<i>Hauberg</i> , LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS (MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, PANAMA, AND THE ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN), by R. J. Alexander	786
<i>Harcven</i> , ELEANOR ROOSEVELT; <i>Kearney</i> ,			
Other Recent Publications	787		

Association Notes

American Historical Association	847
Recent Deaths	852
Communications	856

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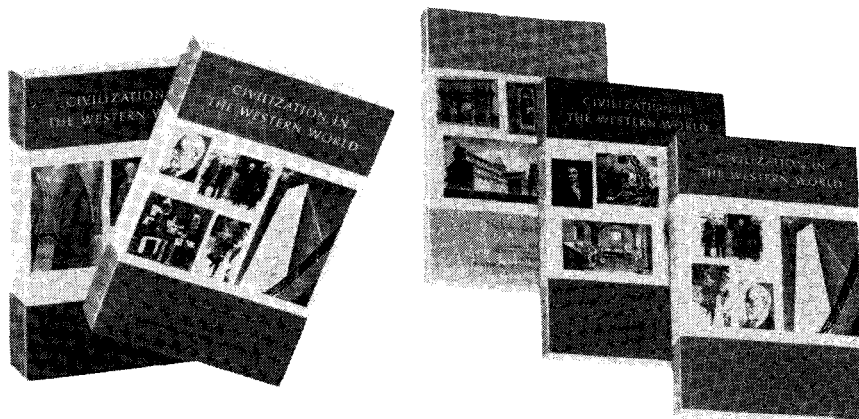
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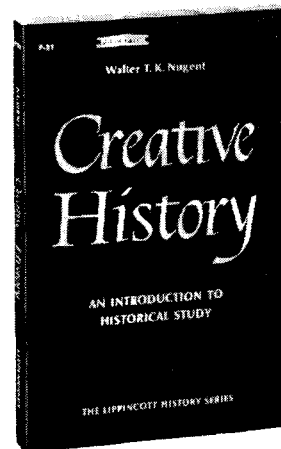
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Constitutional Liberty and the Law of Libel: A Historian's View

ALFRED H. KELLY

IT is somewhat surprising that constitutional historians have paid little or no attention to the development of the law of libel since the crisis occasioned by the Sedition Act of 1798. The history of seditious libel as it related to the growing eighteenth-century crisis over freedom of speech and press has received extensive treatment from the profession. But historians appear to have assumed that with the expiration of the 1798 law and with the rapid decline thereafter of the frequency and significance of prosecutions for seditious libel in the several states, libel law ceased to have any great significance for the growth of American constitutional liberty.

Any such assumption is in large part erroneous. Rather, what actually happened was that with the declining significance of state and federal prosecutions for criminal libel, actions for damages under the law of civil libel assumed increasing importance as a means of controlling false, reckless, and defamatory utterances, both in politics and public life and in the private affairs of men. As the Illinois Supreme Court observed nearly fifty years

► *A professor and chairman of the department at Wayne State University, Mr. Kelly is interested in American legal and constitutional history. In December 1967 he presented an earlier version of this paper at the Annual Meeting in Toronto.*

ago, it is probable that the onus of liability for civil damages under which American writers have labored in the modern era has done more to inhibit full and complete freedom of the press than did criminal prosecutions for defamatory utterance in the eighteenth century.¹

To put the matter differently, the concept of freedom of utterance and the principle of liability for defamatory statements reflect diametrically opposed value systems within the larger framework of constitutional liberty. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently dramatized this conflict of values by undertaking to nationalize the law of libel and to bring it within the guarantees of freedom of the press in the First Amendment.

Historians, it may be observed, have a particular concern in the development of the law of libel. In their role as the formulators and "custodians" of society's public truths about its own past, they operate not only under the constitutional guarantees of the First Amendment but also under the limitations and liabilities imposed by civil libel law. Several recent cases, notably that of *Frick v. Stevens*,² have demonstrated rather forcibly the special interest that the historical profession has in the development of a maximum right of publication as a First Amendment guarantee against the potential threat of civil actions for libel.

Any adequate understanding of the development of the law of libel and the relationship of constitutional liberty thereto must begin with some analysis of that law as it emerged in the English common-law courts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That law provided that a written defamatory utterance or "libel" directed at the state, at a public official, or at a private person might constitute either a criminal offense or a tort, that is, a private wrong inflicted by one person upon another for which the proper remedy was a suit for damages. In some instances the same published utterance might constitute both a criminal offense and a tort, or private wrong. The common law of civil and criminal libel constituted two fairly separate and distinct streams of legal development, although the two in-

¹ *City of Chicago v. Tribune Co.*, 307 Ill. 595, 139 N. W. 86 (1923). This paper is concerned only with libels, that is, published or written defamatory statements, and not with slander, that is, mere spoken defamatory statements. In Anglo-American law, unlike that of other legal systems, the law of libel and the law of slander, though related, are distinct and somewhat different. (See William E. Prosser, *Handbook of the Law of Torts* [St. Paul, Minn., 1955], 584-96.)

² This case, in which Helen C. Frick, the daughter of Henry Clay Frick, the late Carnegie partner and coke magnate, sued Sylvester K. Stevens, executive director, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, in an attempt to enjoin publication, sale, and distribution of the latter's book, *Pennsylvania: Birthplace of a Nation* (New York, 1964), will by now be familiar to most of the members of the historical profession. Judge Clinton R. Weidner's opinion holding for Stevens is to be found in *Frick v. Stevens*, "In the Court of Common Pleas of Cumberland County, Pa., No. 1, January term, 1965" (mimeo copy prep. by the American Historical Association and in my possession). See Paul L. Ward, "The Role of the Joint Committee in the Frick Case," *AHA Newsletter*, VI (June 1968), 26-32.

teracted closely upon one another, as indeed they have continued to do to the present time.³

In the eighteenth century it was the law of seditious libel—defamatory utterances directed against the state and its officials—that roused a considerable measure of public attention and controversy. Two major issues were involved: the right of defendants to plead the truth in such cases and the right of juries to return what were known as “general verdicts.” The law as then constituted did not allow defendants in criminal libels to prove truth as a defense, although this long had been the case in civil actions for libel. Instead, it followed the rule that “the greater the truth, the greater the libel,” on the theory that a truthful defamatory utterance against the state or its officials was more damaging to public security than a demonstrably false one.⁴ Nor did it permit juries to inquire into the question of whether a given utterance was seditious; instead they could find only that the utterance had in fact occurred. It was then up to the judge to decide upon its seditious character.

About 1730, libertarians began to fight the long battle both in England and in the American colonies to establish the right of defendants to plead truth in seditious libel prosecutions and to allow juries to return general verdicts. This story, of which the celebrated Zenger trial in New York is a part, has been narrated many times and need not be retold here.⁵ In England the passage of Fox’s Libel Law in 1792,⁶ allowing general verdicts in criminal libels, and Campbell’s Libel Act in 1843,⁷ allowing truth as a defense in such cases, brought an effective end to the controversy in that country.

In America the rule that truth properly was a defense against criminal libels began to spread even before 1800. Many lawyers believed that the Revolution had eliminated English law on the subject and accordingly reacted with outrage when the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1786 held other-

³ On the early development of criminal and civil libel law, see Sir William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (16 vols., London, 1937), VIII, 333–46; Sir James Stephen, *A History of the Criminal Law of England* (3 vols., London, 1883), II, 298–376; and Van Vechten Veeder, “History of the Law of Defamation,” in *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*, ed. Association of American Law Schools (3 vols., Boston, 1907–1909), III, 446–73.

⁴ The classic formulation of this rule was that by Lord Mansfield in *The Dean of St. Asaph’s Case*, 4 Douglas 73, 21 Howell’s State Trials, 1033–40 (1784); see also Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, VIII, 342–45, and Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, II, 321 ff.

⁵ The most recent comprehensive account is in Leonard Levy, *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), which emphasizes the illusory character of truth as a criminal libel defense. The classic account is in Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), which disagrees somewhat with Levy’s interpretation. The Zenger case may be found in 17 Howell’s State Trials 675 (1735). Its significance lay in defense attorney Andrew Hamilton’s insistence upon pleading truth and the jury’s defiance of the court by returning a general verdict. The subsequent impact of the case has doubtless been exaggerated. (See James Alexander, *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger*, ed. Stanley N. Katz [Cambridge, Mass., 1963].)

⁶ *Statutes at Large*, 32 Geo. III, c. 60 (1792).

⁷ *Statutes at Large*, 7 Vict., c. 96 (1843).

wise.⁸ As a result, the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 included a provision allowing truth as a defense in criminal libels in the publication of "papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in a public capacity," as well as in "matters proper for public information," and also permitted general verdicts,⁹ a provision repeated in the Kentucky Constitution of 1792¹⁰ and in somewhat more restricted form in the Tennessee Constitution of 1796.¹¹ The federal Sedition Act of 1798,¹² actually a seditious libel law, nonetheless permitted defendants to plead truth, although the subsequent record of convictions before hostile judges demonstrated for the first time in America how dubious a defense truth might be.

In 1803-1805 the cause of truth as a defense received a further fillip with the argument advanced by Alexander Hamilton in *People v. Croswell*, a celebrated New York trial arising out of the prosecution of a Federalist editor for seditious libel. Acting as counsel for the defense, Hamilton pressed upon the court the argument that "truth published for good motives and for justifiable ends" be allowed as an absolute defense in criminal libel cases.¹³ Hamilton lost his case, but won a larger war. In 1805 the New York legislature, impressed with the merit of his argument in the *Croswell* case, adopted a statute incorporating his rule of "truth published for good motives and for justifiable ends," as a defense in such cases.¹⁴

Thereafter, the principle that truth must be a defense in some fashion in criminal libels spread rapidly in American state law, through constitutional decisions, statutes, and court decisions, as more and more Americans came to realize that criminal prosecution of a citizen bold enough to criticize the government was radically at odds with the spirit of American liberty. At least seventeen states incorporated the Hamiltonian rule of truth or something like it, along with a provision for general verdicts, in their state constitutions in the generation after 1815,¹⁵ while state judiciaries, at first

⁸ *Respublica v. Oswald*, 1 Dallas 319 (1786).

⁹ *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charter, and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories and Colonies now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America*, ed. Francis L. Thorpe (7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1909), V, 3100; see also T. R. White, "Constitutional Provisions Guaranteeing Freedom of Speech in Pennsylvania," *American Law Register*, Old Ser., LII (Jan. 1904), 1-21.

¹⁰ *Federal and State Constitutions*, ed. Thorpe, III, 1274.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 3423. The Tennessee provision limited the guarantee to papers investigating official conduct, omitting "matters proper for public information."

¹² 1 *US Statutes at Large*, 596-97 (1798).

¹³ *People v. Croswell*, 3 Johnson's Cases (N. Y., 1803) 337.

¹⁴ *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Twenty-eighth Session of the Legislature: Begun and Held at Albany the Sixth Day of November, 1804* (Albany, N. Y., 1805), Chap. xc, 450.

¹⁵ Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Delaware (1831), and Arkansas (1836) adopted the early Pennsylvania-Kentucky rule permitting truth in "matters proper for public information." (*Federal and State Constitutions*, ed. Thorpe, II, 1058, 983; I, 583, 269.) Connecticut (1818), Mississippi (1817), Missouri (1820), Texas (1845), and Pennsylvania (1838) adopted the somewhat weaker Tennessee formula. (*Ibid.*, 537; IV, 2033, 2164; VI, 3548; V, 3113.) New York

stubbornly insisting on the old rule of "the greater the truth the greater the libel," gradually came around to the admission of truth as a proper defense.¹⁶

In 1837 the New Hampshire Supreme Court took another leap into the future when it deliberately labeled the Hamiltonian rule "too narrow" and insisted instead that if a defendant in a criminal libel case "has published the truth, and no more, there is no sound principle that can make him liable, even if he was actuated by express malice," that is, a deliberate intent to inflict injury.¹⁷ Here was a position closely related to that which the US Supreme Court was to adopt for criminal libels in the Garrison case more than a century later.¹⁸

Even more significant, perhaps, than the adoption by the states of increasingly rigorous rules allowing resort to the truth in criminal libel cases was the radical decline in the frequency and importance of criminal libel law generally in the American legal system. By the twentieth century seditious libel had all but disappeared from American law, some state courts not even admitting its existence,¹⁹ although, ironically, an occasional prosecution suspiciously resembling the eighteenth-century type made its appearance.²⁰ Criminal libel laws involving prosecution for defamation of one individual by another did not disappear entirely, but they sank into com-

(1821), Michigan (1835), Florida (1838), New Jersey (1844), Iowa (1846), and Wisconsin (1848) adopted the Hamiltonian rule. (*Ibid.*, 2648; IV, 1931; II, 665; V, 2599; II, 1124; VII, 4077.) Massachusetts adopted the Hamiltonian rule by statute in 1826. (*Laws and Statutes Enacted at the 1826 Session of the Massachusetts General Court* [Boston, 1827], Chap. cvii.) Rhode Island in its Constitution of 1842 made truth an absolute defense in both civil and criminal libels, "unless published from malicious motives," a position that went far to anticipate the stand of the Supreme Court in the twentieth century. (*Federal and State Constitutions*, ed. Thorpe, VI, 3224.)

¹⁶ Thus in *Respublica v. Dennie*, 4 Yeates (Pa.) 267 (1805), the Pennsylvania Supreme Court applied the Hamiltonian formula to direct acquittal of a Federalist editor who had attacked democracy as "weak and wicked" and had predicted it would bring "civil war, desolation, and anarchy." The Massachusetts Supreme Court at first insisted on the old "the greater the truth . . ." rule, but at the same time in effect exempted criticism of public officers and candidates. (*Commonwealth v. Clapp*, 4 Mass. 163 [1808].) The Virginia court, also insisting on the continued validity of the old rule, nonetheless found that the Virginia Bill of Rights allowed publication of truth concerning public officers and candidates. (*Commonwealth v. Morris*, 1 Va. Cas. 176 [1811]; see also *Commonwealth v. Blanding*, 3 Pickering [Mass.] 304 [1825]; and *Commonwealth v. Snelling*, 15 Pickering [Mass.], 321 [1825].) In this last case, a defendant's conviction for criminal libel was affirmed on the ground that he had not produced enough evidence to support his charge of misconduct against a magistrate.

¹⁷ *State v. Burnham*, 9 New Hamp. 34 (1837).

¹⁸ See below, p 446.

¹⁹ Thus, "The crime of seditious libel is unknown in New York." (*People v. Edmondson*, 4 N. Y. Supp. 2d 257 [1938].)

²⁰ Although the Supreme Court in 1812 had ruled in *United States v. Hudson*, 7 Cranch 32, that there is no federal criminal common law, and although Congress had not enacted a seditious libel statute since 1798, two overenthusiastic district attorneys in 1909 and 1911 attempted to defend the Taft administration against criticism of its Panama Canal policy with just such suits. (See *United States v. Smith*, 173 F. 227 [1909], where the presiding Indiana federal district judge, dismissing the case on a technicality, denounced the proceedings as one that "must fail" if "constitutional liberty means anything," and *United States v. Press Publishing Company*, 219 US 1 [1911], where the Supreme Court, avoiding larger issues, threw out the government's case, again on a technicality.)

parative obscurity.²¹ As of 1964, however, such legislation still existed in virtually every American state jurisdiction; at that time the US Supreme Court at length brought the crime, along with civil libel, within the scope of the First Amendment.²²

The declining significance of prosecutions for seditious and criminal libel hardly brought to an end the tension between the opposing ideals of freedom of the press and the control of irresponsible defamatory publications; on the contrary, it merely shifted that tension to the conflicts associated with civil or tort actions for libel. Certain of the elements of the law of civil libel, accordingly, must be set forth here, if the reader is to have an adequate understanding of the issues in the First Amendment that the development of tort libel law has brought to the fore in the twentieth century.

The basic idea of the law of civil libel as it developed in England and the early American colonies and states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that defamatory utterances published by one person and directed against another subjected the object of such defamation to damages to his reputation that could be calculated in monetary terms. The remedy for such a tort by defamation lay in an action for damages.²³

Then as now, the law of torts assumed that certain classes of utterances directed at an individual were intrinsically libelous and damaging. Such

²¹ Thus the *Fourth Decennial Digest*, an encyclopedic summary for the period 1926-1936 showed only fifty-two criminal libel prosecutions in all the United States for the entire decade; the *Fifth Decennial Digest*, covering the decade 1936-1946, listed only fifteen; that for 1946-1956, eighteen; and the *Digest* for 1956-1966, seventeen. (*Fourth Decennial Digest* [34 vols., St. Paul, Minn., 1938], XX, 830 ff.; *Fifth Decennial Digest* [49 vols., St. Paul, Minn., 1949], XXIX, 1684 ff.; *Sixth Decennial Digest* [36 vols., St. Paul, Minn., 1957], XX, 1006 ff.; *Seventh Decennial Digest* [38 vols., St. Paul, Minn., 1968], XXI, 709 ff. See also Thomas I. Emerson, "Toward a General Theory of the First Amendment," *Yale Law Journal*, LXXII [Apr. 1963], 877-956, where the author argues that "modern conditions, when the rule of law is generally accepted as substitute for private physical measures," compel "acceptance of the legal doctrine that criminal libel laws are invalid"; and John H. Kelly, "Criminal Libel and Free Speech," *Kansas Law Review*, VI [Mar. 1958], 295-333.)

²² A footnote tabulation in *Garrison v. Louisiana*, 379 US 64 (1964), shows twenty-seven states still following the Hamiltonian rule, eight states allowing truth as a complete defense, eight states giving greater scope for truth where criticism of government officials was concerned, and five states in which it was not clear whether or not truth was a defense in criminal libels. A like enumeration in 1931 had shown almost an identical situation. (Roy R. Ray, "Truth: A Defense to Libel," *Minnesota Law Review*, XVI [Dec. 1931], 43-69.) In such prosecutions as did occur, the courts in sustaining convictions almost invariably emphasized "the injury to the peace and good order of society by publication. . . ." (*State v. Garner*, 112 Conn. 121, 151 Atl. 349 [1930]; see also *Kennerly v. Hennessy*, 68 Fla. 138, 66 So. 729 [1914]; and *Smith v. McClelland*, 99 Fla. 369, 126 So. 292 [1930].) An examination of cases indicates that in the twentieth century a decided preponderance of criminal libel cases arose in southern states.

²³ Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, VIII, 346-78. Historically, to be prosecuted successfully, a defamatory tort had to consist of five essential elements: (1) a publication of (2) a body of facts or opinion (3) concerning the plaintiff, which (4) had defamatory meaning and were presumed thereby to be maliciously false, and which (5) were presumed to have injured the plaintiff's reputation. I have prepared the summary that follows in part from Joseph B. Kennedy, "Recent Developments in the Law of Libel of Interest to the American Historical Association and Others Engaged in Historical Research" (1967), an unpublished paper prepared for the AHA. See the discussion also in *Corpus Juris Secundum* (100 vols. plus index, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1936-60), LIII, 34 ff., and in Prosser, *Handbook of the Law of Torts*, 596-606.

utterances the law described as libelous *per se*. Traditionally, the imputation to another of a criminal offense, affliction with a heinous disease such as leprosy or syphilis, a lack of competence in one's trade or profession, an accusation of gross misconduct in public office, and, more recently, a lack of chastity in a female all fell in this category. Other utterances not libelous *per se* might nonetheless be shown to be defamatory and damaging from a nexus of surrounding circumstances that resulted in the victim's loss of reputation and resultant pecuniary damage. Such utterances, then as now, were said to be libelous *per quod*.²⁴

All defamatory statements, both civil and criminal, were customarily said to be actuated by malice. When a defendant had published a false and defamatory statement in good faith, believing it to be true, the utterance was said to carry "simple malice." But when the defendant had published a deliberately false defamatory statement against another or a statement that he uttered in reckless disregard of its truth or falsity, the publication, then as now, was said to carry "special malice" or "actual malice." The problem of malice, as will presently become clear, has been of great importance in the Supreme Court's recent nationalization of the law of libel.

Since the eighteenth century, the classic defense in tort actions for libel, unlike the earlier situation in criminal libels, has been that the utterance in question was "true as a whole and in every material part thereof." In the past, a statement verified as true was said to be "justified," and although technically it was still libelous, it no longer subjected the publisher to action for damages.²⁵ As will presently be clear, reliance by a defendant upon proving truth carried certain grave liabilities and weaknesses, which the state courts and finally the Supreme Court at length sought to correct.

A second traditional defense, also of great importance in the recent creation of a national law of libel under the First Amendment, was the concept of "privilege." This notion held that certain utterances were immune to prosecution, either because of their character or the status of the person who made them. Privilege was of two kinds: "absolute" and "qualified." The utterances of public officials in their official capacity, the official reports of legislative bodies, governmental executive records, and the like were said to carry "absolute privilege"; thus the publisher was completely immune to prosecution therefor.²⁶ On the other hand, the utterances of private

²⁴ Lawrence H. Elridge, "The Spurious Law of Libel *per Quod*," *Harvard Law Review*, LXXIX (Feb. 1966), 733-56; see also Kennedy, "Recent Developments," Appendix A, 5.

²⁵ The Michigan Supreme Court, in turning back on appeal an action for libel instituted by three plaintiffs against a newspaper that had described all too accurately their attempts to wheedle money unlawfully from an innocent victim, put the matter this way: "In a civil action for libel, no damages are recoverable for a libel that contains no falsehoods." (*Hysko v. Polonia Publishing Co.*, 239 Mich. 676, 215 N. W. 3 [1937].)

²⁶ See *Mundy v. Hoard*, 216 Mich. 478, 185 N. W. 872 (1921); and *Bigelow v. Brumley*,

persons—lawyers, physicians, and the like—in their professional capacity, carried conditional or “qualified” privilege, which protected the publisher against publication in most circumstances. Newspapers did not have qualified privilege.²⁷

Of some considerable practical significance for historians was the old common-law rule that a defamatory statement, to be actionable, must be published against a living person. The dead, in other words, could not suffer monetary damage through loss of reputation and hence could not be defamed. Thus a historian may be as pejorative as he wishes in his remarks about those no longer living, without fear that his words are actionable, so long as he does not reflect directly or indirectly upon anyone still living.

Thus, a few years ago, the son of the late Samuel Insull sued Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., among others, for libel, as a consequence of certain derogatory statements about the deceased utilities magnate that the author had incorporated in *The Crisis of the Old Order*. The court turned back the plaintiff with the observation that “in the absence of statute no cause of action survives the death of the person whose reputation is alleged to have been injured” and added pointedly that the younger Insull had no “cause of action predicated upon his father’s right to remain free of that attack.”²⁸ It was this same principle that Judge Clinton R. Weidner invoked in part in turning back Helen Frick’s recent suit against Sylvester K. Stevens.

In spite of occasional saving principles of this kind, however, this body of civil libel law as it came down into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries constituted a serious limitation upon freedom of utterance. Some notion of how serious that limitation was may be gained from examining

37 N. E. 2d 584 (1941), for discussion. In *Spaulding v. Vilas*, 161 US 483 (1896), the Supreme Court, in emphasizing the necessity of unqualified privilege for major federal executive officers, remarked that “it would necessarily cripple the proper and effective administration of public affairs as entrusted to the executive branch of the government” were the case otherwise. In *Barr v. Mateo*, 360 US 564 (1959), the Supreme Court held “the utterance of a federal official to be absolutely privileged if made ‘within the outer perimeter’ of his duties.”

²⁷ See Martin L. Newell, *The Law of Slander and Libel in Civil and Criminal Cases* (Chicago, 1924), par. 492, for a discussion of qualified privilege; see also the discussion under “Privileged Communications” in *Corpus Juris Secundum*, LIII, 139–97. On newspapers, see *Jackson v. Record Publishing Co.*, 178 S. E. 833 (1935); and *Begley v. Louisville Times Co.*, 115 S. W. 2d 345 (1938).

²⁸ *Samuel Insull v. The New York World Telegram et al.*, 172 F. Supp. 615 (1959). Schlesinger had described the elder Insull as “bribing the state utilities commission, affably encouraging the corruptions of local politics, even building an opera house,” while in a later passage he had portrayed in somewhat graphic language Insull’s subsequent fall from power and indictment for embezzlement. (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933* [New York, 1957], 120, 254–55.) Kenneth Trombley, author of a lighthearted book, *The Life and Times of a Happy Liberal: A Biography of Morris Llewellyn Cooke* (New York, 1954), in which he had made similar pejorative remarks about the elder Insull, escaped a verdict against him on the same grounds. For a dramatic instance of the rule that those even recently dead cannot be defamed, see *Rose v. Daily Mirror*, 284 N. Y. 335 (1940), where a newspaper successfully defended itself against a libel suit arising out of an obituary where it had erroneously described the deceased as “a self-confessed murderer.”

the basic common-law rule that truth was a defense in tort libel actions. This rule, which superficially would appear to provide all the defense an honest writer could ask for, was allowed in every state jurisdiction, at least in some form or other, by the early twentieth century.²⁹ Yet a plea of truth all too often was a trap for the unwary rather than the basis for an effective defense.

The most serious shortcoming involved in a plea of truth was that the burden of truth rested upon the defendant. And since the defendant was obliged to prove truth completely and in all its particulars, the plaintiff, as the Supreme Court put it in 1964, had "an inherently coercive advantage."³⁰ Another difficulty with truth as a defense, which is reminiscent of the eighteenth-century fight over seditious libel, arose out of the fact that what constituted truth was in reality often a matter of interpretive opinion. All too often, juries, when called upon to decide upon the truth or falsity of an utterance, decided against a defendant who in good faith had published what most intelligent men presumably would have regarded as perfectly true.

This was the situation in a celebrated series of libel suits in the 1930's, in which Representative Martin J. Sweeney of Ohio, a follower of Father Charles Coughlin, "the radio priest," instituted some seventy-five separate actions in various jurisdictions against Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen for having stated in their newspaper column that Sweeney had opposed the appointment of a certain man to the federal bench "because he was a Jew." In several of the resultant suits, the presiding trial judge let the question of fact go to the jury. Judge Charles E. Clark of the United States Court of Appeals, in an astute dissenting opinion on one of these cases, had this to say about the difficulty of pleading truth where the defamatory statement at issue was a charge of bigotry directed against a public official:

The public official will always regard himself as not bigoted, and will so testify, sincerely enough. And then the burden of proving the truth of the defense will rest upon the commentator, who must sustain the burden of showing his inference true. If he fails even in a minority of cases against him—as the sporting element in trials to juries susceptible to varying shades of local opinion would make probable—he is taught his lesson, and a serious brake upon freedom of discussion established.³¹

²⁹ See Ray, "Truth," for a summary of the legal variations from state to state in the resort to truth as a defense in civil and criminal libels.

³⁰ *New York Times v. Sullivan*, 376 US 272, at 278–79 (1964); see also Kennedy, "Recent Developments," Appendix A, 8.

³¹ *Sweeney v. Schenectady Union Publishing Company*, 122 F. 2d 288 (1941). See the comment on the Sweeney case and similar suits in David Riesman, "Democracy and Defamation; Fair Game and Fair Comment," *Columbia Law Review*, XLII (Sept., Nov. 1942), 1085–1123, 1282–1318; and Dix W. Noel, "Defamation of Public Officers and Candidates," *ibid.*, XLIX (Nov. 1949), 875–903.

Sometimes the sheer volume of evidence required to prove the truth constituted a serious burden to the defense. In one notable libel suit of 1938 against a Chicago newspaper, the question of truth as submitted by the defense to the jury involved a typed manuscript of more than twelve hundred pages.³² A 1941 Milwaukee newspaper suit required a similarly massive assemblage of materials to prove "fact," which in this instance was also a matter of interpretive opinion.³³ Legal defense of this kind required the services of an elaborate legal staff not ordinarily available to a historian, essayist, or small publisher, who might well reject a manuscript containing pejorative materials as too risky both for him and the author.

Another major difficulty with truth as a defense in civil actions was the obverse legal proposition that honest factual error carried "simple malice," no matter how innocent and well intended, could inflict injury, and as a result was subject to action for damages. Newspapers frequently found themselves victims of this fact of legal life. In one notable instance, the New Orleans *Times Picayune* erroneously identified the victim of a tarring and feathering administered by a mob because of his adulterous conduct, by the name of his brother. No ill will, bad motive in any ordinary sense of the term, or intent to inflict injury was involved, but the Louisiana Supreme Court nonetheless sustained the lower court's finding of simple malice and upheld the award of damages.³⁴

Perhaps the most dramatic clash between the idea of freedom of the press and the liability of publishers to suits for damages arising out of defamation was to be found in the long-time refusal of the courts to allow room for political criticism of officeholders, candidates for office, and other persons occupying prominent positions in public life. Instead, the courts throughout the nineteenth century, with only a few exceptions, held that governmental officials and the like had a right to sue their critics for damages. Once again, truth in such cases was likely to be a matter of opinion rather than of absolute verifiable fact, so that the atmosphere of politics made sharp political criticism particularly dangerous. Suits for damages against newspaper critics and political opponents were thus the natural successors to the seditious libel suits of the eighteenth century.

The theory of the law in allowing public officials and candidates for

³² *Clancy v. Daily News Corporation*, 277 N. W. 264 (1938).

³³ *Hoan v. Journal Co.*, 203 Wis. 311, 298 N. W. 220 (1941).

³⁴ *Barnhill v. Times Picayune Publishing Company*, 171 La. 286 (1930). The Wisconsin Supreme Court had made the same point a few years earlier in upholding an award to a lawyer whose handling of a hearing in a tax case had been attacked, apparently out of a misunderstanding of the facts, as "intemperate and partisan." "Mere honest belief in the correctness of the publication, or good motive, or accident, or inadvertence, is not of itself a defense," the court had observed. (*William v. Hicks Publishing Company*, 159 Wis. 90, 150 N. W. 183 [1914].)

office to prosecute their critics for civil libel was, astonishingly enough, that such a right not only improved the quality of men in public life but also that it promoted freedom of the press. The New York courts expressed this notion as early as 1829, in *King v. Root*,⁸⁵ a rather notorious case of the day growing out of a successful suit for damages lodged by the attorney general of the state against the editors of the New York *American*. In a lurid article the *American* had described in detail the plaintiff's alleged drunkenness while presiding over the state legislature at Albany. The accusation, it turned out, was substantially untrue.

In their defense the editors of the *American* had claimed that the guarantee of freedom of the press in the state constitution gave them qualified privilege in discussing public figures and that accordingly they had a right to print a political article of the kind at issue, without being required to prove its truth absolutely, as long as they did not knowingly publish a falsehood. (This was almost precisely the argument that the US Supreme Court was to adopt as its own some 135 years later.) But the trial judge had overruled the defense contentions and had allowed the jury to return a substantial award for damages.

On appeal, the New York Court of Impeachment and Errors completely rejected the defense argument. The effect of any such doctrine, said Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth

would be deplorable. Instead of protecting, it would destroy freedom of the press, if it were understood that an editor could publish what he pleased against candidates for office without being answerable for the truth of such publications. No honest man could afford to be an editor, and no man, who had any character to lose, would be a candidate for office under such a construction of the law of libel. The only safe rule to adopt in such cases is to permit editors to publish what they please in relation to the character and qualification of candidates for public office, but holding them responsible for the truth of what they publish.

A majority of the state courts throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century followed the reasoning set forth in the Root case, as did the federal courts in diversity cases as well.⁸⁶ In an 1893 case, for example, Judge William Howard Taft, then presiding in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, restated the Root argument almost exactly in ruling on a libel suit that had been instituted by an unsuccessful candidate for Congress against the Cincinnati *Post*. A *Post* article had erroneously described the plaintiff as throwing his support to another candidate in a Kentucky congressional election virtually in return for a bribe.

⁸⁵ *King v. Root*, 4 Wendell (N. Y., 1829) 113.

⁸⁶ Diversity cases are those in which the federal courts take jurisdiction of suits between citizens of different states, whether or not any question of federal law is involved.

In ruling for the plaintiff, Taft argued that were a newspaper to enjoy immunity from libel suits instituted by candidates for office whose activities had been defamed, "then a man who offers himself for public office must submit uncomplainingly to the loss of his reputation . . . whenever an untrue charge of disgraceful conduct is made against him, if only his accuser honestly believes the charge upon reasonable ground." Such a rule, Taft insisted, "would drive reputable men from public office and fill their places with others having no regard for their reputations."³⁷

Even as Taft spoke, however, a few state courts were beginning to enunciate an opposing theory: that the public interest required newspapers and other publicists to engage in a full discussion of the activities and qualifications of all public officials and candidates for public office. Such criticism, the opinion in these few cases held, carried "qualified privilege"; thus the defense need not prove truth but only an honest attempt to publish the truth and, correspondingly, an absence of "actual malice," that is, a deliberate attempt to inflict injury through falsehood.

Thus as early as 1881 the Minnesota Supreme Court turned back on appeal a libel suit instituted by the city treasurer of Manketo against a newspaper that had described him as having embezzled a portion of the funds entrusted to him. The communication in question, said the court, was privileged since it was "one in which the defendants had an interest as residents and tax-payers of the city."³⁸ Three years later the Kansas Supreme Court, in denying a damage suit instituted against a newspaper by an outraged candidate for the office of city attorney who had been accused of corruption, made even clearer its belief that criticism of public officials published in good faith had privileged character. "Generally, we think," the court said, "a person may in good faith publish what he believes to be true" about candidates for public office, "although what he publishes may in fact not be true and may be injurious to the character of others."³⁹

Again, in 1886, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court took a like position in denying the suit instituted by a member of the judiciary who had been falsely accused in the press of a "sewer steal."⁴⁰ Seven years later the same court assumed a similar stance in disposing of a libel suit brought by a National Guard officer who allegedly had been drunk on duty during the

³⁷ *Post Publishing Co. v. Hallam*, 59 F. 30 (1893). In part of the above, Taft was quoting with approval from a similar decision of the Ohio Supreme Court, *Publishing Co. v. Maloney*, 50 Ohio 71, 33 N. W. 192 (1893), where that court had disposed of a similar defense in a "political" libel suit in the same way.

³⁸ *Marks v. Baker*, 28 Minn. 162, 9 N. W. 678 (1881).

³⁹ *State v. Balch*, 31 Kan. 465, 2 Pac. 609 (1884). This was technically a prosecution for criminal libel in which the lower court had fined the defendant ten dollars, but the higher court treated it as a civil libel case.

⁴⁰ *Briggs v. Garrett*, 111 Pa. 404, 2 Atl. 513 (1886).

Johnstown flood but whose inebriated behavior had been described in exaggerated and inaccurate language in the article at issue.⁴¹ Persons engaged in public service, the court declared, "are amenable to public criticism in the newspapers without any liability for libel, if there was probable cause for their comments and no proof of express malice, even though the statements are not strictly true in all respects."⁴²

Finally, in 1908, the Kansas Supreme Court in *Coleman v. MacLennan*, destined to go down as a landmark in the history of the law of libel, specifically repudiated as "too narrow" the old Root rule that the public interest required the courts to hold newspapers and other publishers liable for false utterances directed in good faith against public officials and candidates for public office.⁴³ In a long and powerful opinion reviewing the history of freedom of the press, the court concluded that the only intelligent modern position was to allow publishers complete freedom of publication, "including criticism of government, except for blasphemy, obscenity or scandalous material," or where "utterances by their falsehood and malice . . . may injuriously affect the standing, reputation, or pecuniary interest" of such persons. "The basis of the contention for a more liberal indulgence" of the press, the opinion added,

lies in the modern conditions which govern the collection of news items and the insistent popular expectation that newspapers will expose . . . actual and suspected fraud, graft, greed, malfeasance, and corruption in public affairs and questionable conduct on the part of public men and candidates for office without stint, leaving to the people the final verdict as to whether charges made or opinions expressed were justified.

Such a standard, the court added, ought properly to be applied not only to candidates for public office but also to "the conduct of all corporate enterprises affected with a public interest, transportation, banking, insurance, and innumerable other subjects involving the public welfare." The court concluded with a quotation from Judge Thomas Cooley of the Michigan Supreme Court, the author of the celebrated *Constitutional Limitations*, who in an earlier dissenting liberal opinion had pointed out that "the benefits to be subserved by public discussion would in large measure be defeated if dishonesty must be handled with delicacy and fraud spoken of with such circumspection and careful and deferential choice of words as to make it appear in the discussion a matter of indifference."⁴⁴ This declaration of the

⁴¹ *Jackson v. Pittsburg Times*, 152 Pa. 406, 25 Atl. 613 (1893).

⁴² For similar expressions of the same general doctrine, see *Myers v. Longstaff*, 14 So. Dak. 98, 84 N. W. 233 (1900), where a city treasurer in South Dakota had been falsely accused of theft; and *Sillars v. Collier*, 151 Mass. 50, 23 N. E. 723 (1890), where an incumbent legislator had been accused of changing his position on a public issue in return for a bribe.

⁴³ *Coleman v. MacLennan*, 78 Kan. 711, 98 Pac. 281 (1908).

⁴⁴ *Atkinson v. Detroit Free Press*, 46 Mich. 341, 9 N. W. 501 (1881). The increasingly lib-

law of civil libel anticipated almost exactly that which the more libertarian justices of the US Supreme Court would assume in 1964.

In the next fifty years, one state court after another adopted essentially the stand taken by the Kansas justices in the MacLennan case, at least so far as public officials and candidates for office were concerned. In 1915, for example, the Minnesota Supreme Court, on appeal, quashed a suit by an indignant lobbyist for the liquor interests who had been attacked in vigorous and decidedly inaccurate terms by the state chapter of the Anti-Saloon League. In the political infighting that inevitably accompanied the settlement of important public issues, the court said, "the practices and rules of war," that is, exaggeration, bitter condemnation, and even outright deceit, "are to some extent applicable" and were protected against legal action.⁴⁵ This language went even beyond the MacLennan opinion in putting the realm of political criticism within the area of protected utterance.

An interesting variation of the MacLennan position found expression in 1923, when the Illinois Supreme Court turned back a suit that the city of Chicago had instituted against the *Chicago Tribune*. In a series of articles that climaxed the long feud between editor Robert R. McCormick and the Tammany-type administration of Mayor William Hale Thompson, the *Tribune* had charged repeatedly that the mayor's machine had ruined the city's finances, asserting that the city was "broke," that "bankruptcy is just around the corner," and so on. The city government thereupon sued the *Tribune* for libel. In its defense the *Tribune* admitted that some of its statements had been "malicious and false," but it fell back for its defense upon the general guarantee of freedom of the press in the Illinois Constitution.

Upon appeal, the state Supreme Court threw the city's case out of court. An action for libel brought by a governmental unit against a private citizen, said the court, resembled too closely the prosecutions for seditious libel in the eighteenth century and could not be allowed. It was better, the court said, "that an occasional newspaper or individual that is so perverted . . . should go free than that all of the citizens should be put in jeopardy of imprisonment or economic subjugation if they venture to criticize an inefficient or corrupt government." The present civil action, the court concluded, was "out of tune with the American spirit, and has no place in American jurisprudence."⁴⁶ In short, a governmental unit could not sue a publisher for libel even where "actual malice" was involved.

eral position that Cooley advocated in successive editions of his treatise undoubtedly also had considerable influence. (See Thomas W. Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations Which Rest upon the Legislative Power of the States of the American Union* [6th ed., Boston, 1890], 536-70.)

⁴⁵ *Lydiard v. Wingate*, 155 N. W. 212 (1915).

⁴⁶ *City of Chicago v. Tribune Co.*

In 1945 the New York Court of Appeals extended the MacLennan dictum to protect a newspaper against a libel suit instituted by a private businessman. The plaintiff had delivered a violent speech attacking the Roosevelt administration for incompetence in the conduct of the war and had been in turn subjected by the defendant's newspaper to a trenchant piece of invective, biting sarcasm, and ridicule. "The plaintiff," said the court, "chose to make what was in effect a political speech, whether he considers himself a politician or not. In so doing he laid himself open to the same criticism of his views as others expressing themselves on public questions are subject to." In short, the court treated the whole area of political commentary as lying almost completely outside the laws of libel.⁴⁷

This is substantially where matters stood in 1964, when the US Supreme Court at length intervened to bring the law of libel in the various states under the aegis of the First Amendment. For many years, and for obvious reasons, that court had little to say concerning the law of libel. Under the time-honored dictum set forth by the Court in 1833, the guarantees of the federal Bill of Rights, including those of the First Amendment, did not apply to the states;⁴⁸ thus, state libel decisions, no matter how much they might offend the precepts of freedom of the press, could not on that account be appealed to the federal judiciary. Further, after the expiration of the Sedition Act of 1798, Congress never again passed any federal seditious libel act as such, and since there was no federal common law, the Court had practically no occasion to render decisions upon libel law as such.⁴⁹

In 1925, however, the Court reversed its long-standing position to rule incidentally that the guarantees of the First Amendment now must be considered to limit the states, through the medium of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁵⁰ The way was now opened for the creation of a body of First Amendment constitutional law limiting the states as well as the federal government in the area of freedom of speech and press. In the next forty years a vast body of such law came into existence, dealing among other things with picketing, parades, pamphlet peddling, the licensing of public meetings, prior restraint upon publication, and so forth.⁵¹

In spite of the new sweep of the First Amendment, the Supreme Court

⁴⁷ *Castle v. Thackrey*, 154 N. Y. Supp. 432 (1945). In 1929 the same court in turning back a politician's suit against a newspaper had applied the MacLennan doctrine without modification, asserting that "it would indeed be a sorry day for the country if men in public life were beyond censure." (*Hoepfner v. Dunkirk Printing Co.*, 237 N. Y. Supp. 123 [1929].)

⁴⁸ *Barron v. Baltimore*, 7 Peters 243 (1833).

⁴⁹ Exceptions occurred when the Court in 1911 turned back what amounted to a federal criminal common law suit (see p. 433, above) and when it developed the doctrine of privilege for federal officials.

⁵⁰ *Gilow v. New York*, 268 US 652 (1925).

⁵¹ For a summary, see Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York, 1963), 786-816, 958-86.

long remained virtually silent on the subject of libel, apparently approaching the questions involved only reluctantly. The Court took its first cautious step in *Near v. Minnesota*, when it ruled that a Minnesota statute providing for suppression of libels through the injunctive process was unconstitutional in that it violated the two-hundred-year-old principle of “no prior restraint” against publications.⁵² But in 1942 the justices divided equally and without opinion in a case confronting them with an opportunity to apply the MacLennan dictum to newspaper criticism of a public official;⁵³ thereafter they let this issue lie fallow for another twenty years.

In 1952, in a highly controversial and curiously reactionary decision, a majority of five justices upheld an Illinois criminal “group libel” law.⁵⁴ And in 1959, the justices, extending an earlier dictum, ruled that the publications of a federal official were invested with absolute privilege, even when made only “within the outer perimeter of his duties.”⁵⁵ Then, finally, in 1964, in *New York Times v. Sullivan*,⁵⁶ the Court spoke decisively, in effect investing the MacLennan doctrine with the sanctity of a First Amendment right.

New York Times v. Sullivan arose out of an advertisement published in the *Times* and signed by sixty-four clergymen and other persons of some prominence charging the police and elected city commissioners of Montgomery, Alabama, with instituting “an unprecedented wave of terror” in their attempts to suppress Negro desegregationist activities. Student leaders at Alabama State College, the advertisement alleged, had been expelled from school after a demonstration on the state capitol steps, while “truckloads of police armed with tear-gas and shotguns” had “ringed” the campus and “padlocked” the dining hall in an “attempt to starve” the students “into submission.” The advertisement also charged “southern violators” of civil rights with bombing the home of Martin Luther King, assaulting his person, causing his arrest some seven times for speeding and loitering, and charg-

⁵² *Near v. Minnesota*, 283 US 697 (1931). The rule against injunctions to suppress libels actually was a long-standing one, having been developed both in the state and in the federal courts in diversity cases. (See *Montgomery Ward and Co. v. South Dakota R. M. and H. D. Ass'n.*, 150 F. 413 [1907]; *Mitchel v. Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of Texas*, 121 S. W. 178 [1909]; *Wolf v. Harris*, 184 S. W. 1139 [1916]; *Nann v. Raimist*, 225 N. Y. 307, 174 N. E. 690 [1931]; *Hoxsey Cancer Clinic v. Folsom*, 155 F. Supp. 376 [1957]; and *Kryitsis v. Vieron*, 382 S. W. 2d 533 [1964].) Technically *Frick v. Stevens* involved such a suit and was settled by application of *Near v. Minnesota*.

⁵³ *Schenectady Union Publishing Co. v. Sweeney*, 316 US 642 (1942).

⁵⁴ *Beauharnais v. Illinois*, 343 US 250 (1952). The statute in question forbade the distribution of printed material which “exposes the citizens of any race, color, creed, or religion to contempt, derision, or obloquy, or which is productive of breach of the peace or riots.” Obviously the conservative majority, in upholding the statute, was concerned with protecting Negroes, Jews, and other minorities from extreme Right-wing attack. It is significant that the Court’s liberal bloc, composed in this instance of Justices Black, Douglas, Reed, and Jackson, thought the statute unconstitutional.

⁵⁵ *Barr v. Mateo*. The Court had made the same point with respect to principal federal executive officers in *Spaulding v. Vilas*.

⁵⁶ See note 30, above.

ing him with perjury. It is significant that the advertisement contained a number of factual errors, while several of the so-called signatories had in fact not authorized the use of their names. The plaintiff, a Montgomery city commissioner, had thereupon sued the *Times* for libel.

The trial court judge found that the statements at issue were libelous per se, a finding that under Alabama law meant that "falsity and malice" were "presumed by the mere fact of publication." In his charge to the jury, he stated that mere carelessness in a printed statement was not evidence of "actual malice." But he refused to instruct the jury that a finding of "actual malice" in criticism of a public official was necessary to sustain an award for damages, a ruling that obviously challenged directly the MacLennan dictum. The result was a verdict for the plaintiff and a five-million-dollar judgment. The Alabama Supreme Court, in sustaining the verdict and judgment, rejected outright the contention of counsel that to sustain a libel suit by a public official against a critic required a finding of "actual malice," while it also rejected the argument that the First Amendment, projected upon the states through the Fourteenth, properly gave the public some protection against libel suits directed at them for criticism of public officials.

By a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Brennan, overturned the Alabama judgment, on the ground that the "rule of law applied by the Alabama courts is constitutionally deficient for failure to provide the safeguards for freedom of speech and of the press that are required by the First and Fourteenth Amendments in a libel action brought by a public official against critics of his official conduct." In a review of a long series of First Amendment cases that the Court had passed upon since the 1930's, Brennan emphasized "that we consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials." Nor was it constitutionally permissible in such cases to place "the burden of proving truth on the speaker" since "erroneous statement is inevitable in free debate," which "must be protected if freedoms of expression are to have the 'breathing space' that they 'need . . . to survive.'" To hold otherwise, Brennan said, would be to revive the principle of the "infamous" Sedition Act of 1798.

Accordingly, Brennan concluded, the First Amendment required that public criticism of government officials be invested with qualified privilege. To recover damages for publications criticizing his official conduct, a public official now would be obliged to show "actual malice," which Brennan defined as publication of a false defamatory statement "with knowledge that

it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not." This in substance was the MacLennan rule, and indeed *Coleman v. MacLennan* was one of the Court's major precedents.

It is significant that three members of the Court felt that the new rule of law did not go far enough. Black thought the Court should have invested criticism of public officials with absolute and not qualified privilege, that is, granted "the press an absolute immunity for criticism of the way public officials do their public duty," a stand in which Justice Douglas concurred. Justice Goldberg, a little more cautious, agreed that the Constitution properly afforded to citizen and press alike "an absolute unconditional privilege to criticize official conduct," warning only that such a rule ought not to extend to "defamatory statements directed against the private conduct of a public official or private citizen. . . ."

The New York *Times* opinion quite clearly added up to one of the most libertarian affirmations of the Supreme Court in the past several decades. The opinion made it evident that Brennan and his colleagues were reacting to the adverse judgment of history with respect to the Sedition Act of 1798, concerning which they apparently found something of a counterpart in the circumstances of the present case.⁵⁷ A major question now opened up: how far were the justices prepared to go in bringing all libel actions, for example those involving public figures not in office and even mere private citizens, under the *Times* "actual malice" rule?

The Court's next move came in *Garrison v. Louisiana*⁵⁸ eight months later, when the Court unanimously extended the *Times* rule to cover prosecutions for criminal libel. Here the somewhat effervescent New Orleans district attorney had been indicted and convicted for violation of the Louisiana criminal libel law, after he had sharply criticized the "inefficiency, laziness, and excessive vacations" of the local judiciary, implying at the same time that the judges involved were connected with local gambling interests. The "actual malice" rule, Brennan said, applied "with no less force because the remedy is criminal" rather than civil action. Nor could a state define criminal libel merely as "an intent to inflict harm rather than an intent to inflict harm through falsehood" since "it may be almost impossible" for a defendant "to show freedom from ill-will or selfish political motives." In effect this meant the deliberate repudiation by the Court of the old Hamiltonian criminal libel rule of defense based upon truth published "for good motives and for

⁵⁷ Justice Brennan presently said as much in his "Meiklejohn Lecture" at Harvard, "The Supreme Court and the Meiklejohn Interpretation of the First Amendment," *Harvard Law Review*, LXXIX (Nov. 1965), 1-20. See also Harry Kalvan, Jr., "The New York Times Case: A Note on the Central Meaning of the First Amendment," *Supreme Court Review*, 1964, 191-221.

⁵⁸ See note 22, above.

justifiable ends” as outmoded and too narrow. In a concurring opinion, Justices Black and Douglas took the position that all criminal libel laws ought to be declared unconstitutional as totally incompatible with the First Amendment.⁵⁹

The first clear warning that a majority of the justices were not prepared to go all the way with the application of the *Times* rule to other than governmental officials came in *Rosenblatt v. Baer*, decided in February 1966.⁶⁰ This case, which had come up from the New Hampshire Supreme Court, involved a suit for libel instituted by a state recreation supervisor who after his replacement by a five-man state recreation commission had been made the subject of spicy adverse criticism by a local newspaper columnist. After remarking on the increased income that the new board seemingly enjoyed from the state recreation area, the columnist had inquired rhetorically, “what happened to all the money last year?” A jury had awarded the supervisor damages, and the state Supreme Court had affirmed.

Disposition of the *Baer* case split the justices into three sharply divergent positions. Justice Brennan’s majority opinion reversed and remanded the case to the New Hampshire courts on technical grounds,⁶¹ but he also attempted to formulate a general answer to the sweep of the *Times* rule. At the very least, he said, the rule ought to apply to those “among the hierarchy of government employees who have, or appear to have substantial responsibility for control over public affairs.” In short, the new “actual malice” rule should apply without question to all policy-making governmental officials. Justices Douglas and Black, while concurring with the technical disposition of the case, thought it “dangerous” to limit the *Times* rule to “major elected officials”; Black, in particular, felt the utterance in question was “the very kind the First Amendment was designed to protect.” Justice Fortas, occupying the same general ground, confined himself to an observation that the New Hampshire decision had not met the *Times* standard.

Justices Stewart and Harlan, by contrast, adopted a far more conservative position. The *Times* rule, Stewart thought, should be applied only “where a state’s law of defamation has been unconstitutionally converted into a law of seditious libel,” such as had been in effect the case in the *Times* case itself. And Harlan, adopting a similar position, thought the *Times*

⁵⁹ Justice Black was already publicly on record as favoring this position. (See Edmund Cahn, “Justice Black and First Amendment ‘Absolutes’: A Public Interview,” *New York University Law Review*, XXXVII [June 1962], 549–63.)

⁶⁰ *Rosenblatt v. Baer*, 383 US 75 (1966).

⁶¹ The trial judge had failed to instruct the jury adequately that the alleged libel in question must refer to the plaintiff.

standard should apply only to cases involving “impersonal criticism of the government”—again virtually seditious libel prosecutions in civil guise.⁶²

It was quite clear from the Court’s disposition of the Baer case that the future sweep of the *Times* “actual malice” rule was still a matter of doubt. The lower courts, both federal and state, meanwhile evinced some considerable confusion as to whether the rule ought to be applied to lesser governmental officials, to nongovernmental “public figures,” and to other private persons, as some states allowed.⁶³

In *Time, Inc. v. Hill*⁶⁴ the Court for the moment at least moved toward a libertarian position once more. This case, decided early in 1967, arose technically under a New York “right of privacy” statute; yet the Court appears to have disposed of it largely under the shadow of the *Times* standard. At issue in the case was a piece of fictionalized biography published in *Life* that drew heavily upon the true story of a family whose home had been invaded and held for several hours by bandits. There was nothing libelous about the story, but the *Life* account nonetheless exposed the family to a large degree of unwelcome publicity, and its members sued for damages.

Justice Brennan’s opinion held that the scope of constitutional protection under the First Amendment was defined by newsworthiness: what was newsworthy also fell within the protection of the First Amendment, “in the absence of proof that the defendant published the report with knowledge of its falsity or in reckless disregard of the truth.” This appeared to put “newsworthy” publications under the protection of the First Amendment, under something like the *Times* rule, and by implication inferred a considerable expansion of the sweep of the *Times* standard to cover any publication of major public interest.

Finally in *Curtis Publishing Company v. Butts* and *Associated Press v. Walker*, a pair of cases that the Court disposed of in a single opinion in

⁶² In *Lynn v. Plant Guard Workers*, 383 US 53 (1966), a case decided the same day as the Baer case, the Court ruled five to four that private libel suits in labor controversies arising in the state courts were not outlawed under the National Labor Relations Act and that the *Times* rule should be applied thereto. Justice Clark’s majority opinion warned, however, that “malicious libel enjoys no constitutional protection in any context . . . and unions should adopt procedures calculated to prevent such abuses.” Black, in a sweeping libertarian declamation, protested that all labor case libel suits in the state courts ought to be outlawed as “inconsistent both with the Constitution of the United States and the policies of the National Labor Relations Act.”

⁶³ For varying applications of the *Times* rule, see *Pauling v. Globe Democrat Publishing Co.*, 362 F. 2d 188 (1966), where a federal circuit court applied the rule to editorial criticism of Nobel Prize chemist Linus Pauling; *Pearson v. Fairbanks Publishing Co.*, 13 P. 2d 711 (1966), where the Alaska Supreme Court turned back a libel suit instituted by columnist Drew Pearson by applying the rule; and *Clark v. Pearson*, 248 F. Supp. 188 (1966), where a federal court allowed a suit against Pearson by a newspaper, refusing to place Pearson within the protection of the rule.

⁶⁴ *Time, Inc. v. Hill*, 385 US 374 (1967).

June 1967,⁶⁵ a majority of the justices made it decisively clear that they would not extend the new "actual malice" rule to other than governmental officials. They now formulated instead a somewhat less restrictive rule to apply to "public figures" who were "involved in issues in which the public has a large and continuing interest."

The Curtis case arose out of an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* that accused "Wally" Butts, the athletic director at the University of Georgia, of conspiring to "fix" a football game with the University of Alabama. General Edwin A. Walker's suit against the Associated Press had its origins in his activities on the campus of the University of Mississippi at the time of the massive James Meredith integration riot in late September 1962. An Associated Press dispatch had described the former army officer as having personally taken command of the crowd and having led a charge against the federal marshals who had been sent to the campus to preserve order. Neither Butts nor Walker was a governmental employee of any kind; thus both cases presented a clear opportunity to decide whether the *Times* "actual malice" rule ought to be extended to prominent private individuals.

Justice Harlan's opinion for the majority justices refused to apply the *Times* standard to either Butts or Walker. Instead, it attempted to lay down a new formula for such persons, which would "strike a fair balance between the interests of the community in free circulation of information and those individuals seeking recompense for harm done by the circulation of defamatory falsehood." Harlan found his touchstone in a new rule: "that a 'public figure' who is not a public official may also recover damages for a defamatory falsehood whose substance makes substantial damage to reputation apparent, on a showing of *highly unreasonable conduct constituting an extreme departure from the standards of investigating and reporting ordinarily adhered to by responsible publishers* [italics mine]." Applying this formula, the Court confirmed the lower court's award of damages in the Butts case and reversed the finding of the Texas courts granting damages to Walker.

Justice Harlan's attempt to find a new formula for libels against public personages in "highly unreasonable conduct" and "extreme departure from the standards . . . ordinarily adhered to by responsible publishers" did not pass unchallenged. Chief Justice Warren, concurring in the result, nonetheless thought it a mistake to depart from the *Times* rule. Justices Brennan and White, also adhering to the *Times* "actual malice" rule, thought the Butts case should be remanded for a new trial in accordance with that rule. Black, with whom Douglas concurred, thought even the *Times* standard

⁶⁵ *Curtis Publishing Company v. Butts and Associated Press v. Walker*, 388 US 130 (1967).

"wholly inadequate" to protect freedom of the press and added trenchantly that in his opinion the Court now was "sinking into the same helpless quagmire in the field of libel in which it is helplessly struggling in the field of obscenity."

In sum, as of 1968, the justices appeared to be split into four or five factions with respect to constitutional limitations upon libel law. A large majority of the justices, perhaps excepting only Justices Harlan and Stewart, were willing to apply the *Times* "actual malice" rule to policy-making governmental officials, and indeed to lower officials as well.⁶⁶ But there agreement ended. Black and Douglas were close to holding that the very concept of civil and criminal libel ought to be outlawed under the First Amendment. Warren, Brennan, and White thought the *Times* rule should be adhered to not only for governmental figures but also for persons in the public eye, such as Butts and Walker. Stewart, it will be recalled, wanted the *Times* rule abandoned except in what amounted to seditious libel cases, while Harlan apparently had reached the conclusion that it ought to be applicable only to impersonal governmental suits against private persons, a formula that would have been applicable only rarely, if ever, outside seditious libel cases. In short, if the Court had not fallen into Justice Black's "quagmire," on the subject of libel law, it appeared at the least to be in great difficulties.⁶⁷

What is the meaning of all this for the historical profession? In spite of the welter of legal detail, it is clear that the mantle of constitutional right that the newer interpretation of the law of libel places around authors and publishers affords the historian a considerable degree of protection. In the first place, no historian need fear suppression of his work through the injunctive process, as was attempted unsuccessfully in *Frick v. Stevens*; such suppression would amount to "prior restraint" in violation of the most elementary and ancient rule of freedom of the press.⁶⁸

Second, the rule that one cannot libel a dead person, while not yet embodied in the corpus of federal constitutional law, has gained such universal acceptance by state courts as to afford the historian an additional large measure of protection. At least 95 per cent of the personages treated by historians are safely dead, so that even the historian who passes pejorative judgments resting upon careless, irresponsible, and unethical craftsmanship

⁶⁶ Thus in April 1968 the Court again made a full application of the *Times* "actual malice" rule to reverse a Louisiana decision awarding damages to a minor public official, in this case a deputy sheriff, about whom a candidate for public office had published a libelous statement. (*Amant v. Thompson*, 390 US 727 [1968].)

⁶⁷ Harry Kalvan, Jr., "The Reasonable Man and the First Amendment: Hill, Butts, and Walker," *Supreme Court Review*, 1967, 267-309, is an astute analysis of the shades of theory and opinion in the Court's various opinions.

⁶⁸ The Court so held in *Near v. Minnesota*.

finds himself securely protected by a wall of state cases and federal diversity precedents.

Third, the *Times* "actual malice" rule offers still further protection for the historian of contemporary or near contemporary affairs who writes pejoratively of living governmental officials. Only the historian guilty of "actual malice," that is, the deliberate propagation of falsehood or falsehood resulting from a reckless and irresponsible disregard for the truth, will find himself in danger of successful prosecution for defamation of governmental officers.

Fourth, the responsible historian appears to be fairly well protected even by the more restrictive rule that the Court imposed in the *Butts* and *Walker* cases for the defamation of prominent living persons. In order to be liable for damages, our putative historian would have to be found not only to have published defamatory falsehood but also to have been so sloppy in his methodology as to fall under the onus of "an extreme departure from the standards of investigating and reporting ordinarily adhered to by responsible publishers." Only the historian guilty of the defamation of a living person through the resort to standards of research and publication so irresponsible and careless as to merit the condemnation of his own profession should be endangered by such a standard. Admittedly there have occasionally been such.

Finally, the historian should be warned that if perchance his field of research takes him into the purely private lives even of governmental officials and prominent personages as well as the lives of persons not prominent in the public eye, he may find himself compelled in a putative libel suit to fall back upon truth as a defense, and conceivable also in a few jurisdictions upon truth published for good motives. No present member of the Supreme Court, except Justice Black and possibly also Justice Douglas, appears to believe that the First Amendment properly outlaws all libel suits, both criminal and civil. So far as the historian intrudes upon the private lives of the living, he should stand warned.

Probably the largest danger from libel prosecutions that the responsible historian faces is that of harassment: the filing of irresponsible single or multiple suits for defamation in those instances in which there is no great possibility that a court of original jurisdiction would allow an award for damages, and no possibility at all that an award would stand up on appeal should one be made.

The guarantees against prosecutions for libel with which the profession is invested are, admittedly, less than perfect. It might be argued that historians as a matter of sound public policy should, ideally, be invested by law

with "qualified privilege"; thus all their professional publications as such would stand immune from actions for libel, except in those rare instances where a plaintiff can prove "actual malice." But the press generally has no such guarantee, and it seems unlikely that the courts, concerned as they have been of late with "balancing" constitutional liberty against private rights, will recognize any such peculiar rule for historians alone.⁶⁹

In any event, the responsible historian adhering to sound professional standards faces little danger from successful actions against him for libel. And in so far as he does face such danger, as well as the more serious danger from irresponsible legal harassment, the lesson seems clear: the profession, while taking comfort in the large measure of constitutional liberty that it now enjoys, must nevertheless organize to defend itself.

⁶⁹ Arnold Rose, the well-known sociologist, in his *Libel and Academic Freedom: A Law Suit against Political Extremists* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1968), argues that the libel suit is a useful device for defending members of the academic profession against irresponsible defamation by Right-wing extremists, and accordingly attacks the restrictive *New York Times* rule as calculated to "gradually reduce the access of the public to correct information in the press" and one from which "only the most unscrupulous politicians and irresponsible people generally can ultimately benefit."

Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815–1828

MICHAEL WALLACE

DURING the first thirty years of its existence the United States developed, quite unintentionally, a party system. Organized popular parties regularly contested for power; Federalists and Republicans fought passionately and acrimoniously in Congress and cabinet, in town squares and county court-houses throughout the nation. The evidences of party spirit alarmed many Americans, for the existence of parties and their constant contention violated powerful and ancient traditions of proper political behavior. According to canons inherited from British and colonial thought and practice, parties were evil: they were associations of factious men bent on self-aggrandizement. Political competition was evil: the ideal society was one where unity and consensus prevailed, where the national interest was peacefully determined by national leaders. Because partisan behavior violated normal ethical standards, many men, politicians among them, saw in the rise of parties a sign of moral decline. Not until a new generation of politicians emerged—men who had been raised in parties and had grown to maturity in a world that included party competition as a fixture of political life—were Americans able to re-evaluate the ancient traditions and establish new ones that justified their political activities.

Much of this re-evaluation and development of new ideals took place in New York State in the 1820's.¹ There a group of professional politicians, leaders of the Republican party known as the Albany Regency, developed the modern concept of a political party and declared party associations to be eminently desirable. They adhered to a set of values that insisted on preserving, not destroying, political parties. They denounced and derided the consensus ideal and praised permanent political competition as being beneficial to society.

► *Mr. Wallace is working toward his doctorate at Columbia University under Richard Hofstadter. He received his master's degree from that institution in 1966.*

¹ I do not claim that only New Yorkers advanced the ideas I am about to discuss, but only that they present us with certain archetypal positions. Investigations of the reflections of politicians in other states during this period, particularly Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and North Carolina, might uncover similar configurations of ideas. For some New Jersey attitudes, primarily concerning the caucus, see Carl Prince, *New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans: The Genesis of a Party Machine, 1789–1817* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1967).

This essay will examine the ideas of these politicians. It will begin with their new definition of a political party, move to the new code of political morality that declared loyalty to party to be of the highest value, and conclude with their gradual rejection of the consensus tradition.

The regency politicians justified their political party by distinguishing it from the parties characteristic of English and colonial American politics. They asserted that while the old type of party had been a personal clique satisfying nothing but the greed and whims of its aristocratic leaders—thus meriting the odium it had received—the new type of party was a popular, democratically run organization that enabled the people to participate in government; it was, therefore, praiseworthy. By distinguishing between old and new parties, and by applying the epithets of the antiparty tradition only to the former, they freed their own association from condemnation. They were able to make this distinction because in fact the parties they were familiar with were quite different from their eighteenth-century forebears: the regency ratified a change that had already occurred.

In eighteenth-century England, “parties,” “factions,” or “connections” were cliques of parliamentary notables, organized about one or more prominent leaders. They were held together primarily by hopes of obtaining office. As Sir Lewis Namier tells us, “whoever in the eighteenth century had the ‘attractive power’ of office, received an accession of followers, and whoever retained it for some time was able to form a party.” In addition to patronage, kinship and friendship were the basic ligaments of these primary political units. Lacking an organizational basis, however, these connections were quite unstable: “Such parties . . . were bound to melt, . . . for the basis of the various groups was eminently personal.”² Several such groups would merge to form the coalitions that made up ministries, but these coalitions were themselves highly unstable and in a crisis tended to dissolve into their constituent elements. Denominations such as Whig and Tory were often meaningful designations, but they denoted broad stylistic and ideological characteristics, not cohesive structures. “There were no proper party organizations . . . though party names and cant were current.”³

² Lewis B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930), 242–43.

³ *Id.*, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (New York, 1961), x. On the personal, nonorganizational quality of politics in this period, see also Richard Pares, *King George III and the Politicians* (Oxford, Eng., 1953), 74–82; Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, *Growth of the British Party System* (2 vols., London, 1967), I, 8; Archibald S. Foord, *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714–1830* (Oxford, Eng., 1964), 23. For the earlier part of the eighteenth century, see Robert Walcott, Jr., *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); and J. H. Plumb, *The Origins of Political Stability in England, 1675–1725* (Boston, 1967).

Colonial politics in New York adhered to the English pattern: an intricate interplay of family cliques that occurred largely within the confines of the Assembly. This is not to say that contests were simply affairs of personal pique; significant economic and social interests were often at stake. Yet the processes of adjustment and reconciliation of interests were not carried on through the medium of such stable groupings as political parties. The units of political organization were shifting alliances of patrician families or elite individuals: New York's political history was a dense tangle of Livingstonians and DeLanceyites, of Lewisites, Burrites, and Clintonians.⁴

From the Revolution to the 1820's, the English model of party was altered, and a distinctively American form emerged. The Revolution forced the elite factions, whose power had been rooted in connections with England, social prestige, or economic power, to turn to the public, to attempt to bolster their positions by soliciting mass support; this increased dependency on the legitimizing power of numbers produced what one historian has called a shift from a politics of status to a politics of opinion. The mobilization of popular support behind specific political positions or leaders became increasingly crucial in American politics, and the political party emerged as the mechanism for organizing that support. In the 1780's and 1790's, debate over such national issues as the adoption of the Constitution, the Hamiltonian program, the Jay Treaty, and the Genêt mission drew great numbers of previously uninvolved people into the expanding political parties. The parties changed from cliques in Congress to popular associations, as men sought to influence the composition and character of political leadership by concerted action at the polls.⁵

Parties began to develop identities, personas, that were separable from the personalities and positions of their leaders; structures, too, were becom-

⁴ See Stanley Katz, *Newcastle's New York: Anglo-American Politics, 1732-1753* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (Torchbook ed., New York, 1965); Jabez D. Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York* (2 vols., New York, 1846), I; Alfred Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1967).

⁵ The literature on the development of parties is extensive; see, e.g., Carl Becker, *History of Political Parties in the Province of New York* (Madison, Wis., 1909); Lloyd Irving Rudolph, "The Meaning of Party: From the Politics of Status to the Politics of Opinion in Eighteenth-Century England and America," doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1956; Harry Ammon, "The Genêt Mission and the Development of American Political Parties," *Journal of American History*, LII (Mar. 1966), 725-41; Joseph Charles, *The Origins of the American Party System* (New York, 1961); William Nisbet Chambers, *Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience, 1776-1809* (New York, 1963); Roy Nichols, *The Invention of the American Political Parties* (New York, 1967); Paul Goodman, "The First American Party System," in *The American Party Systems*, ed. William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham (New York, 1967); Noble Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1957), and *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1963); William Nisbet Chambers, "Parties and Nation-Building in America," in *Political Parties and Political Development*, ed. Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (Princeton, N. J., 1966).

ing less communal, more impersonal, as parties stretched to absorb ever-larger numbers of adherents. Changing terminology marked the process: in New York, where DeLanceyites had fought Livingstonians, Federalists now fought Republicans. Yet by the War of 1812 the process was far from complete; the New York Republican party, for instance, remained primarily a coalition of family factions, which tended to fracture repeatedly along the lines of its component parts. The first generation of party members, generally unaware of the larger processes at work, maintained a greater allegiance to their personal factions than to the larger entity, the party. The structure, function, size, and scope of the party had changed, but not men's attitudes toward it. Because the transformation was unplanned, a series of *ad hoc* reactions to events, the conception of party remained unchanged. What looked like a modern party had evolved, but because change had preceded intellectual awareness, old attitudes toward parties prevailed.

In New York, after the War of 1812, a new conception of party emerged, modeled more closely on reality; in turn, the new definition of what a party ought to be legitimated existing structures. This re-evaluation developed out of what at first seemed just one more intraparty feud among New York Republicans, but that rapidly took a new and significant turn. The focus of the struggle was De Witt Clinton, in 1817 the leader of the party. Clinton held to the old view of party: he was a patrician politician who considered the party his personal property. This attitude is not surprising, given the nature of his career. Clinton assumed his position of leadership effortlessly, inheriting control of the faction that had been led by his uncle, George Clinton, New York's Revolutionary War governor. Despite the fact that the organization he headed in 1817 was quite different from what it had been when he entered politics in the 1790's, his style of leadership remained characteristic of the earlier period. Snobbish, spiteful, and supercilious, he was forbiddingly aristocratic. He craved flattery, he rejected advice from subordinates that conflicted with his own political judgments, and he directed the party largely as he saw fit. Above all, he dispensed the rewards of the party—political patronage and party nominations—as he pleased, often to personal friends, often to Federalists at the expense of deserving Republicans.⁶

This type of leadership became increasingly unacceptable to a group of

⁶ For Clinton's approach to parties, see John Bigelow, "De Witt Clinton as a Politician," *Harper's*, L (Dec. 1874), 409-17, 563-71; Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, I, 360, 461-62, 489-90; II, 269-74; Michael P. Lagana, "De Witt Clinton and Martin Van Buren: Political Managers in New York State, 1812-1822," master's thesis, Columbia University, 1963, 92-100, 103-105, Chap. vi; Samuel P. Orth, *Five American Politicians* (Cleveland, 1906), 90-91, 93, 107; Fox, *Decline of Aristocracy*, 194-228; Alvin Kass, *Politics in New York State, 1800-1830* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1965), 17.

younger politicians in the party. As the party had become richer, more powerful, more obviously a vital route to a successful career in public life, many men whose allegiance lay not to any person or family but to the party itself had joined the organization. Inevitably such men would resent the idiosyncratic and unpredictable quality of party life, particularly the capricious dispensation of party rewards. Beginning about 1817, a group of these younger politicians known as the Bucktails began a quiet campaign to oust Clinton from the leadership. They were not interested merely in substituting one set of leaders for another. Rather their position may be likened to that of a group of young executives in a family firm who think that the business is being misrun because familial, not managerial, standards govern its operation.

By 1819 the Bucktails, who included such able men as Martin Van Buren, Benjamin Franklin Butler, Silas Wright, William Learned Marcy, and Azariah Cutting Flagg, felt ready to challenge Clinton openly. At first they attacked him personally, charging that he put his own interests above those of the organization. "De Witt Clinton, has acted incompatibly with his situation as the head of the republican party of this state, and in direct hostility to its best interest and prosperity. . . ."⁷ "Personal aggrandizement," they declared, "has been his personal maxim, even at the sacrifice of the republican party."⁸ As one Bucktail wrote in the *Albany Argus*, the organ of the insurgents, "notwithstanding his capacity, his manners are too repulsive, his temper too capricious and imperious, his deportment too dictatorial and tyrannical to acquire the affections or retain the confidence of any party."⁹

The Bucktails wanted to go beyond indicting Clinton's personal style and to get at the anachronistic system of personal politics that he represented. Yet it was difficult to criticize Clinton's kind of leadership within the traditional framework of ideas about parties, for he was acting in accord with centuries-old standards of behavior. They were thus forced to proclaim a new definition of party and new standards of proper behavior for party politicians that would discredit both Clinton and his style of politics. They accomplished this task by adopting the rhetoric of democracy and egalitarianism and applying it to intraparty organization. Parties, they declared, should be democratic associations, run by the majority of the membership. It was a simple assertion, but it immediately put them in a position of strength. The ideal was virtually unassailable; to undermine the Bucktail position, critics would have to denounce republicanism itself—in

⁷ Republican meeting of the city of Hudson, in *New York National Advocate*, Feb. 10, 1820.

⁸ Republican meeting of Redhook, in *Albany Argus*, Jan. 21, 1820.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1824.

the 1820's a political impossibility. Republican ideals became the Bucktails' weapons, and they were weapons that Clinton could not counter.

The Bucktails asserted that a party organized about an individual or patrician family was unacceptable as it was not republican. Personal parties were not parties at all, but factions, aristocratic remnants from the deferential days of colonial politics. Clinton was denounced as "raising up not only an aristocracy, but what has more hideous features, a species of monarchy."¹⁰ He was "the chieftain and head of an aristocracy"; his followers, "governed by no principle or party discipline," were "servile dependents . . . solely devoted to his views"; they were a "dangerous faction, bearing the badge of his family name," and solely concerned with "ministering to personal ambition."¹¹ His patronage policy was denounced, not simply as unfair, but as producing undemocratic concentrations of power: "Devotion to the person of a chief becomes a passport to public distinction, and servility to men in power is rewarded . . . by honors and emoluments." In sum, Clinton's whole vision of politics, "characterized by personal attachments on the one hand and by personal antipathies on the other," was "highly prejudicial to the interests of the people, and if successful [would] have a tendency to subvert our republican form of government."¹²

The proper form of political organization in a democratic state, the Bucktails argued, was not a personal faction but a political party. A true party was not the property of a man or a family, but transcended any of its members. Like a corporation it outlived its officers and did not, as had been the rule, expire when its leaders died or were removed from office. The proper party was "bound to the fortunes of no aspiring chief."¹³ A political party, moreover, was responsible to the mass of its members: it was a democratic organization. The "cardinal maxim with the great republican party [should be] . . . always to seek for, and when ascertained, always to follow the will of the majority."¹⁴ Politicians like Clinton, who felt themselves to be above the majority, could no longer be tolerated. "Those who refuse to 'abide by the fairly expressed will of the majority' . . . forfeit all claims to the

¹⁰ Broadside, Oct. 15, 1824, in Broadside Collection [hereafter cited as BC], New York Public Library.

¹¹ *National Advocate*, Feb. 25, 1820; *Albany Argus*, Oct. 22, 1824; Dec. 10, 1819.

¹² *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1820. Another writer insisted that "the fatal rock upon which the democracy of this state has heretofore run their bark, is an undue attachment to individuals." (*Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1826.) As early as 1817 Marcy declared that "if republicans are to be put down because they have more devotion to the cause than to an Individual I shall consider it a duty and an honor to be arrayed in opposition to such an administration." (Marcy to John Bailey, Aug. 30, 1817, quoted in Robert Remini, "The Early Political Career of Martin Van Buren," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1951, 203.)

¹³ *Albany Argus*, Jan. 21, 1820.

¹⁴ *Journal of the Senate of the State of New-York; at Their Forty-seventh Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol in the City of Albany, the Fourth of January 1824* [hereafter cited as *New York Senate Journal*, 1824] (Albany, 1824), 18.

character of republicans, and become recreant to the principles of that party."¹⁵ This did not mean an end to leadership: "Republicans know full well that . . . some must bear the brunt of the battle, and that to some hands must be consigned the interest and honor of the party; the system, the management, the labor and the anxiety." But leaders were expected to consider themselves the instruments or agents of an organization, not its owners. He "whose talents and zeal have benefitted the republican party will be supported as long as he consults the interests and ascendancy of that party, and no longer."¹⁶ The proper criteria for advancement were faithful dedication to the party and long service in its support, not pedigree or property.

By these standards, Van Buren was a model party leader. He proclaimed his obligation to the organization: "There are few men in the state," he told a gathering of the faithful, "more indebted to the favor of the Republican Party than myself and none more willing to acknowledge it."¹⁷ He rose to power in the prescribed fashion: "We speak of him with pride," declared a mass meeting of Albany Republicans in 1820, "because without the influence of fortune, or the factitious aid of a family name, he has, by his entire devotion to the republican cause, raised himself to the first grade as a statesman and a patriot."¹⁸

By 1820 the Bucktail revolt had succeeded. Largely because they were able to convince many of the party that they were more faithful to the organization and the will of its majority than was Clinton, they managed to oust Clinton and his adherents; they then appropriated the apparatus and symbols of the Republican party entirely for themselves. Despite vigorous protests at being read out of the party because they failed to measure up to the new criteria, the Clintonians were relegated to the status of a distinct personal party.¹⁹ Van Buren and his fellow Republicans entrenched them-

¹⁵ Albany *Argus*, Jan. 19, 1824.

¹⁶ *National Advocate*, Nov. 17, 1821.

¹⁷ Draft of speech to be read at Herkimer Convention, Oct. 3, 1826, Martin Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁸ Albany *Argus*, Feb. 29, 1820.

¹⁹ The Clintonians were outraged at being displaced by younger men for not adhering to the new party discipline. Their complaints are evident in a revealing pamphlet, *The Marling Man*, written either by Clinton himself or by his lieutenant, Pierre C. Van Wyck. The narrator remarks that "times appear to be much changed since the days of George Clinton. Here I am, just as good a man as ever, just as true a Republican, . . . [and all my] part and lot in the election is, to be appointed on a ward committee, and to do a duty at the polls and to scour round through the cellars and groceries to buy up votes, and for what? to elect a set of young men, of whom I know but little and care less." After many reflections on the old, independent days, the hero decides to reject the new-style politics: "hereafter I will have none of your committees, or caucuses, or tricks; . . . as to your regular modes, and all that make us drill soldiers, . . . if I can find the old Republicans again, I'll join them; if I cannot, why I'll be independent and vote as I please." (*The Marling Man, or Says I to Myself, How is This?* [New York, 1819], 5-6, 8.) Another disaffected member was James Tallmadge, who declared that "these old men who are now marked as irregulars, understand and observe the principle

selves in the legislature and all of the executive branch but the governorship and came to be characterized, by Clintonian and Federalist opponents, as the Albany Regency.²⁰

The Bucktails thus succeeded in distinguishing between party and faction in both the theory and actuality of New York politics. A party (such as their own) was a democratically structured, permanent organization; a faction (such as the Clintonians) was a transient, aristocratic, personal clique. "On one side is arrayed the old republican party, and on the other the followers of a man."²¹ Personal factions were bad: they were aristocratic and concerned only with enriching their leader. But parties were good: they allowed all members an equal voice; gave all members an equal chance to rise to positions of leadership and to receive party nominations for important elective positions; and provided all members an equal chance at receiving patronage, now no longer dispensed at the whim of an arbitrary leader. The degree to which the newer politicians rejected the antiparty tradition and the personal basis of politics can be seen in their extraordinary degree of attachment to their organization. They went far beyond merely justifying the existence of their party in ideological and practical terms and developed a system of political discipline that enjoined every politician, at whatever cost to himself, to preserve and perpetuate the party. It is to the development of their doctrines of party loyalty and party discipline that we now turn.

The new politicians adopted a code of political ethics, governing the behavior of politicians, that was a startling departure from old traditions. Edmund Burke, the greatest defender of party associations in the eighteenth century, had always considered political connections purely voluntary, based on similarity of ideas; he never assumed that there would be any control of members by the group. To "blindly follow the opinions of your party, when in direct opposition to your own clear ideas," he considered "a degree of servitude that no worthy man could bear the thought of submitting to."²² It was precisely such servitude that the new party morality demanded:

of the republican party; while these new converts who have thrust themselves into places and set up as leaders of party discipline, know nothing. . . . To approve of caucus nominations, and obey their leader, is the extent of their education and of their political principles." (*Speech of James Tallmadge, Esq. on the subject of Caucus to Nominate a President given in the House of Assembly, 26th January, 1824* [Albany, 1824], 11.)

²⁰ For a short account of the Albany Regency, see Robert V. Remini, "The Albany Regency," *New York History*, XXXIX (Oct. 1958), 341-55. Also useful are *id.*, "Early Political Career of Martin Van Buren"; Ivor D. Spencer, "William L. Marcy and the Albany Regency," doctoral dissertation, Brown University, 1940; John Garraty, *Silas Wright* (New York, 1949); Kass, *Politics in New York State*.

²¹ Albany *Argus*, Oct. 22, 1824.

²² Edmund Burke, "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents," in *Works of the*

all politicians were required to subordinate themselves to the party and not to let either convictions or careers block obedience to the will of the majority. This injunction was not simply tactical but ethical. As one party paper put it, "we hold it a principle, that every man should sacrifice his own private opinions and feelings to the good of his party—and the man who will not do it is unworthy to be supported by a party, for any post of honor or profit."²³ As it was cogently expressed by another paper, "individual partialities and local attachments are secondary and quite unimportant compared . . . with the INTERESTS AND PERMANENCY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."²⁴ The proper politician ignored restraining scruples when they conflicted with those of the greater number. As a group of Bucktail senators declared, "we did not think it *right* to adhere to our individual opinions, in opposition to the will of the majority [*italics mine*]."²⁵

The earliest formulation of this doctrine of subordination was the caucus doctrine. This political code of honor evolved from the need to eliminate the splintering that had characterized the party's years of growth. In its mature form, the caucus doctrine required minority factions in party conclaves to submit to the will of the greater number: party discussion in private was to be followed by party unity in public. As the *Argus* phrased it, "brethren of the same principle [meet] together—the minority yield to the majority—and the result is announced as the will of the whole."²⁶ This, too, was not just a tactic, but a moral injunction. Republicans were agreed that "violating the pledge of a caucus" was a "black and dishonorable course."²⁷

Right Honourable Edmund Burke (7 vols., Boston, 1826), I, 428. Burke assumed that the problem of differences between party and member was a negligible one: "as the greater part of the measures which arise in the course of publick business are related to, or dependent on, some great leading *general principles on government*, a man must be peculiarly unfortunate in the choice of his political company if he does not agree with them at least nine times in ten." (*Ibid.*, 428.) If a party man was so unfortunate as to differ with his party Burke remarks that "he ought from the beginning to have chosen some other, more conformable to his opinions." This of course begs the question, but in a revealing fashion. For Burke, with all his praise for party, was not at ease with organizations; his sort of party was voluntaristic and thus lacked the stability the regency men desired to achieve. The same insistence on the right of individuals to disagree with organization policy (so morally refreshing if so subversive of bureaucratic continuity) can be found decades later in Lord Grey. In 1820 Grey defined party as a "connexion of honorable and independent men" who agree on leading issues. And "the moment there arises a disagreement on these the party is dissolved on the same honorable ground on which it was first united." (Cited in Austin Mitchell, *The Whigs in Opposition, 1815-1830* [London, 1967], 7.)

²³ Black Rock *Beacon*, quoted in Albany *Argus*, Feb. 17, 1824.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1823.

²⁵ "Circular of the Republican Members of the Senate," *ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1819.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1824.

²⁷ M. M. Noah to Van Buren, Dec. 29, 1820, in Albert Friedenberg, "The Correspondence of Jews with President Martin Van Buren," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXII (1914), 75.

Jabez D. Hammond, a contemporary historian-politician, put the matter concisely:

When political friends consent to go into caucus for the nomination of officers, every member of such caucus is bound in honor to support and carry into effect its determination. . . . To try your chance in a caucus, and then because your wishes are not gratified to attempt to defeat the result . . . strikes me as a palpable violation of honor and good faith.²⁸

The Bucktails did not invent the caucus doctrine; as an organizational device it is obvious, probably ancient. Certainly it had been advanced in New York politics in the early days of the Republican party and had been used nationally even before. Yet in New York, it had never really been accepted. The doctrine was advanced usually only by those whose needs it served: the majority faction of the moment.²⁹ What the regency men did to strengthen it was to adhere to it when in the minority.

In 1817 Clinton received the Republican nomination for governor. Many Bucktails advocated ignoring the caucus decision and bolting; their New York City allies, the Tammanyites, did just that. But Van Buren firmly believed in the caucus doctrine; for the first time, therefore, a strong body of dissenters was led by a man who felt that his responsibility to the institution transcended his differences with the dominant faction. Under his leadership, the Bucktails supported the caucus decision. As Van Buren explained,

If we could be found capable of opposing [the caucus'] decision for no other reason than because we found ourselves in a minority, our bad faith would reduce us from our present elevated position as the main body . . . of the Republican party of the State, to that of a faction, like the Burrrites and Lewisites, which struggles for short seasons & then disappears from the State.³⁰

Support of the caucus was a matter of tactics. Van Buren knew the power of the party label. He saw that the party would be most effective as a vote-gathering machine only if it were united in support of a single candidate. Were he to discredit the caucus, the party label would be reduced in value, the mechanism for uniting the party would be crippled, and the victory of future Bucktail candidates might be endangered. Willing submis-

²⁸ Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, I, 193.

²⁹ In 1804, for example, the caucus nominated Morgan Lewis for the governorship, but the outvoted faction of Aaron Burr countered with a nomination by "a respectable meeting" in New York City. The Lewisite majority attacked the legitimacy of such proceedings: "Morgan Lewis, Esq., is certainly the republican candidate. Has he not been nominated by the almost unanimous voice of the members of the legislature? Can any better method be devised to collect the expression of the general will? Is it not our duty as good and faithful men to be governed by the voice of the majority fairly expressed?" The Burrrites thought not. Similarly, in 1808, Daniel D. Tompkins obtained the caucus nomination, and immediately his backers pleaded with the minority to "acquiesce in the determination of a fair majority of our republican fellow citizens throughout the state." But the minority bolted. (See Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, 148-53.)

³⁰ Van Buren to Gorham Worth, Mar. 19, 1817, Van Buren Papers.

sion to the Clintonian majority of the moment was, therefore, the price to be paid for future victories.

Support of the caucus was also a matter of principle. Van Buren tied the basic republican ethos of majoritarianism securely to the caucus system: minority status was not a legitimate basis for fleeing the party standard; bolting was to be stigmatized as "bad faith." Were the Bucktails to violate their own conception of the behavior proper to members of a true party, they would destroy their credentials as politicians of a new breed and relegate themselves to the status of a faction, indistinguishable from their Clintonian opponents. By their dramatic sacrifice on behalf of the party,⁸¹ the Bucktails gained an impregnable moral position. When, in 1819, the Clintonian faction ignored the decision of a caucus dominated by the Bucktails, they virtually excommunicated themselves; their "bad faith" allowed the Bucktails to claim that only they were true Republicans. Hammond, a Clintonian, later declared: "I aver it as my deliberate opinion that [the 1819 violation of the caucus] was the cause of the [Clintonians'] prostration and ruin."⁸²

By the 1820's, then, the caucus doctrine was granted acceptance of a sort it had not achieved previously in New York. Its popularity was traceable to the same reasons as the party's: it was both useful and an operational fulfillment of the majoritarian ethic.

The ethos of subordination dictated further demands for the party activist aside from behaving properly in caucus. If he wished to advance in the party, for instance, there were prescribed patterns of behavior. The perfect party man did not aggressively pursue advancement; his success, at least ideally, depended on service to the institution and a ritual denial of higher aspirations. Nothing irritated these men more than self-seeking politicians. As Van Buren noted, "rival aspirants for the superiority of position in their own ranks have always and everywhere been the bane of political organizations, disturbing their peace and impairing their efficiency." He suggested that humility was the best policy: "it has been those who . . . refrained the most from suffering their personal behavior from being inflamed by their political rivalries and were most willing to leave the question of their individual

⁸¹ The Bucktail acquiescence bewildered many. A nonplused New York *Evening Post* declared that "we are at a loss to account, upon any principle of honor or fair play how [Van Buren], after representing Mr. Clinton in one speech made at 8 o'clock in the evening, as the most unworthy and dangerous man in the state, could afterwards, in another, at 12, the same night, represent him as the great republican citizen who ought to unite all hearts in his elevation." (Quoted in Remini, "Early Political Career of Martin Van Buren," 201.)

⁸² Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, I, 479-80. Van Buren concurred. When the Clintonians ignored the caucus, "the effect was electrical and from one end of the state to the other there was a revulsion of feeling in the minds of Republicans." (Martin Van Buren, "The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren," ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick, in *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1918 (2 vols. plus suppl., Washington, D.C., 1920), II, 90.

advancement to the quiet and friendly arbitrament of their political associates [who] have in the end been the most successful.”³³ The regency leader Silas Wright knew the formula. As he wrote to Van Buren, “I have entered upon a political life and while I remain in it I intend to live up to what I understand to be the course of a political party man.” Wright abstemiously affirmed that he wanted nothing “by way of office or patronage which [the party leaders] shall not think well sustained to subserve the best interests of the great republican party of our state.” He was not averse to advancement, but he insisted that his friends, in considering rewards of office for him, should always “first consult the interests of the Republican party in their doings.”³⁴ Even the meanest party functionaries repeated this litany.³⁵

Editors of party papers were particularly subject to party discipline. Isaac Leake, on taking control of the *Albany Argus* in 1820, was aware that he was “a child of the Republican Party” and that in all matters he must seek “the concurrence of the party.”³⁶ Mordecai M. Noah, editor of the *New York National Advocate*, resigned in 1824 over what he felt to be undue interference with the business aspects of his work. While the Republican General Committee remonstrated with him privately, a party-appointed caretaker expounded on the duties of party editors:

The proprietor of a party journal is entitled to all the profits and emoluments arising out of his establishment; and so far as pecuniary matters extend, none ought to control him. But he should never possess, or ought he to assume the right of governing, instead of being governed. To the political opinions and views of his party, he should ever be subservient. It is upon this principle that a party newspaper is commenced, and, ultimately, by the exertions of active and ardent partisans, placed upon a permanent foundation.

Will any reflecting man pretend that the editor of a democratic newspaper has the right to, on his own responsibility, recommend or assail men or measures in opposition to the will of that party, who are the patrons and supporters of his paper? We think not, because this would be acting on a principle that is untenable. It is assuming the ground that an editor because he controls a press, may, of right propagate his own view, regardless of the dissensions and divisions which he may thus produce in his own political family. If the editor possesses this right, so ought every other individual of his party. The effect of such a system would be perpetual discord and confusion.³⁷

In a short time, Noah, bowing to party pressure, returned to his post, ex-

³³ Van Buren, “Autobiography,” ed. Fitzpatrick, 519. See also *Albany Argus*, June 4, 1824: “differences merely personal . . . may be entertained to a reasonable extent . . . yet [must] by no means interrupt the harmony which ought always to prevail among those who feel and act from higher than personal considerations and attachments, for the common cause of the republican party.”

³⁴ Wright to Van Buren, Dec. 17, 1828, Van Buren Papers.

³⁵ See, e.g., Job Clark to Flagg, Dec. 13, 1826, John Morgan to Flagg, Dec. 4, 1827, Azariah Cutting Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

³⁶ Jesse Buel to Van Buren, May 28, 1820, Van Buren Papers.

³⁷ *National Advocate*, Sept. 6, 1824.

plaining that "it was doubtless my interest to establish a new paper . . . but a new paper might possibly embarrass the republican party, and I yield, as I have ever done, with deference to the wishes of the party, when expressed through its accredited organs."³⁸

Loyalty was also expected of Republican legislators, albeit in a sporadic fashion. The party virtually never took positions on public issues, but it did exact, and get, discipline on issues that in some fashion affected the fortune of the organization itself. At such times it was expected that "the great majority of the legislature . . . would in conformity to the principles of their party, sacrifice their personal predilections on the altar of the general good."³⁹ The length to which legislators would occasionally go in subordinating their interests to those of the organization is illustrated by the political suicide committed by seventeen state senators in 1824. Party strategy required the defeat of the extremely popular electoral bill (which would have given the choice of presidential electors to the people and blocked the regency's delivering the state's united electoral vote to William Crawford, the caucus choice that year). Van Buren urged "the Republican members of both houses [to] act in concert and magnanimously sacrifice individual preferences for the general good."⁴⁰ With perfect foreknowledge of the consequences, these seventeen voted, as the party required, to defeat the democratic measure. As Senator John Suydam phrased it, "I have discharged my duty fearlessly but conscientiously."⁴¹ Most of these political Spartans ended their legislative careers with that vote; the hatred generated among the people was extraordinarily intense. Their only recompense, aside from those few who were rewarded substantially with executive appointments, judge-ships, and the like, was the overwhelming gratitude of their party brethren. As regency leader Marcy told another party leader, Flagg, a banquet was held for the martyrs where "something approaching to divine honors were lavished on the Seventeen. We did not leave our good friends, while turtle soup or good madera [*sic*] could be seen, tasted or heard of."⁴²

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1824. Another battle over finances ended in Noah's permanent departure. (See *ibid.*, Dec. 16, 17, 27, 1824.) The concept of a party press was particularly exasperating to regency opponents. As a "friend to an independent press" angrily wrote the Clintonian Albany *Daily Advertiser* (Sept. 19, 1823), "what avails it whether we have legal censors of the press, or assumed dictators, where will is received both as law and gospel in all political matters? It is a fact . . . that hitherto 'discipline of party,' as the *Argus* and its patron cantingly call it, has kept the press completely under the control of a few, very few, men, who care not a rush for the rights of the people. . . ." The Clintonian *Statesman* (May 30, 1823) insisted that "We are *not* party men, and do *not* print a party paper. . . ."

³⁹ "Epaminondas" in Albany *Argus*, Mar. 5, 1824.

⁴⁰ Van Buren to Daniel Evans, June 9, 1824, Van Buren Papers.

⁴¹ William MacKenzie, *The Life and Times of Martin Van Buren* (Boston, 1846), 199.

⁴² Marcy to Flagg, July 19, 1825, Flagg Papers. Party also affected the organization of the legislature. Republican Erastus Root candidly remarked after his election as Speaker that "I was elected to the legislature by a political party, and it would appear that I am honored with

The loyal party adherent, then, could usually count on some reward, tangible or intangible, for his continued support.⁴³ But even the most faithful of its members could be sacrificed, as is shown by the fate of Joseph C. Yates. Yates, governor of New York in 1824 and a loyal Republican, cooperated, despite his personal reservations, with the party policy of defeating the electoral bill. His consequent unpopularity with the electorate led to a caucus movement to replace him with a more promising candidate in the next election. This greatly upset party stalwarts like Wright and Flagg. As Hammond tells us, "they insisted that if [Yates] had erred, in the course he had taken in relation to the electoral law, it was an error committed in accordance with the policy of the party to which he belonged and in pursuance of their advice and request. If he was to be sacrificed for that, Mr. Flagg declared his readiness to suffer with him."⁴⁴ Butler, another important Republican, agreed. He felt that abandoning Yates might be "thought of as a breach of good faith and a violation of political morality and honor." The interests of the party and one of its faithful members clashed; party men faced an agonizing dilemma of conscience. Yet there could only be one solution. The conflict was resolved, to Yates's misfortune, when his opponents appealed to the first law: the preservation of the institution. As Butler noted, the decisive argument had been that "to secure the ultimate safety of the party, some other person must be nominated."⁴⁵

Finally there were requirements for those who merely voted for the party. Their duty was simple: to vote for the nominee chosen by the party caucus. This meant ignoring or repressing reservations about the nominee; it was called being "regular." Republicans were reminded repeatedly that

it is necessary to preserve the unity and harmony of the party. . . . If opposition to the regularly nominated candidates is countenanced, if a few persons are permitted to distract & divide us it will lay the foundation for new parties & factions which may acquire a fatal strength. . . . Let us not allow personal animosi-

this chair, by the same party. When a committee is to be appointed on a question which may involve party considerations, it may be expected that I shall appoint a majority of that committee from the party to which I belong." (Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, II, 242-43.) The impact of party loyalty in the legislature burgeoned in the next two decades. For the influence of the ethos of subordination on national legislation in the 1840's, see Joel H. Silbey, *The Shrine of Party: Congressional Voting Behavior, 1841-52* (Pittsburgh, 1967).

⁴³ There were, of course, negative as well as positive sanctions; they are emphasized in Remini's "Albany Regency." It is true, as Remini says, that "the awful arm of the appointing power" was used freely. But it is interesting to note that even dismissal was made a principled affair. Butler, for example, wrote Flagg about an officeholder who "had fattened on the bounty of the party for years . . . by hollow and hypocritical professions . . . all the while condemning its usages He was not deserving of reappointment having forfeited all claims by a total dereliction of principle, both moral and political." (Butler to Flagg, Dec. 15, 1827, Flagg Papers.)

⁴⁴ Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, II, 156.

⁴⁵ Butler to Van Buren, Mar. 27, 1824, Van Buren Papers.

ties to mingle with great considerations of duty we owe to principle and to party.⁴⁶

Many declared their acceptance of regularity, as did Flagg: "I am not partial either to Mr. Crawford or Adams, but am disposed to do that which is for the best good of the Republican party in the state. I am decidedly in favor of supporting the regular nomination . . . fall on whom it may. . . . and the republican who runs counter to this is a schismatic."⁴⁷ The essence of regularity was the abdication of dissent. When, appalled by the character of the nominee, Flagg once objected to a caucus choice, Marcy reproved him:

An opposition to a candidate which is abstractly right may be politically wrong. . . . The example of opposing a candidate nominated by political friends is bad not only as to its effects on the pending election but as to others that are to succeed it. An opposition upon the ground of principle will be used to authorize an opposition on the ground of caprice.⁴⁸

When some Republicans voted for a Federalist candidate "just because they [had] some personal dislike to the regular candidate," Noah was outraged: "Had there been political or moral honesty in men from whom the country had a right to expect better things . . . the regular nomination like the laws of the Medes and Persians would have been held sacred."⁴⁹

This injunction was accepted by the party rank and file. In 1824, when the party's procedures were severely attacked, local Republican groups in New York responded with hundreds of testimonials demonstrating adherence to their party's principle of regularity.

[From Columbia County:] That we have the highest confidence in the utility of regular nominations as heretofore made by the usage of the republicans. And that we will faithfully abide such nominations, as the strongest bond of party union.

[From Dutchess County:] That we approve of all regular caucus nominations fairly and equitably made, and that we consider such nominations the only legitimate method by which the will of the majority can be expressed and that we as republicans consider them highly recommendatory and binding on us.

[From Cayuga County:] That we will adhere to, and support those voluntary associations for . . . the nomination of officers founded on the representative principle, which during the revolution and the subsequent political contests and

⁴⁶ *National Advocate*, Apr. 27, 1822.

⁴⁷ Flagg to Van Buren, Nov. 12, 1823, Van Buren Papers.

⁴⁸ Marcy to Flagg, Oct. 20, 1825, Flagg Papers. Wright needed no instruction: "It is part of my political creed always to act with my honest friends and to let the majority dictate that course of action." (Wright to Flagg, Dec. 20, 1827, *ibid.*) See also Peter B. Porter's avowal to Van Buren of his "determination to go with you and the great body of Republicans in this State (whatever candidate they may eventually light upon). . . ." (Porter to Van Buren, Oct. 31, 1822, Van Buren Papers.)

⁴⁹ *National Advocate*, Apr. 7, 1824.

during the last war with Great Britain . . . have enabled republicans, the friends of liberty, to harmonize in their views and give efficacy to their exertions.⁵⁰

Such were the tenets of the new party morality. The unity and thus the continuity of the party were to be achieved by party discipline, the willingness of members to set aside personal considerations for the greater good. But there is a final point to be made about this code of political ethics, one that takes us to the core of the regency mind. As we have noted, the Bucktails distinguished a true party as one responsive to the majority of its members. Party discipline and such practices as the caucus were the devices that enabled the majority to rule; they ensured, moreover, that it would rule. They were thus the guarantees of intraparty democracy. They were also believed to be bulwarks of democracy in a larger arena. Party unity allowed the common people (most of whom, of course, were assumed to be Republicans) to deal as equals with aristocratic opponents like the Federalists; the power and influence of family and fortune could be offset by banding together and presenting a united front at the polls. Again, party discipline was an agent of democracy.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Albany *Argus*, Sept. 5, 1823; Feb. 27, Sept. 17, 1824. The reasons for this mass acceptance of party loyalty were many and complex. One point is that the caucus system, to regency followers, did not connote a locked room full of political bosses hacking out nominations. Rather it betokened an elaborate network of ward, city, village, county, and district conventions (a term virtually synonymous with caucus on levels below the legislature) that laced the state into a pyramidal party structure open to the public through most of its tiers. At the top, the caucus of the state legislature was free from direct public influence, though after 1817 it was broadened to include some elected party delegates. Local nominations, however, were the prerogative of the local caucuses, composed of all local Republicans (and often opponents as well, for there were no clear criteria of party membership). While these bodies were often manipulated by local leaders, and while the party as a whole was, like most other mass organizations, subject to Michels' "iron law of oligarchy," the caucus system (broadly conceived) did allow for much participation by the party rank and file. (See James S. Chase, "Jacksonian Democracy and the Rise of the Nominating Convention," *Mid-America*, XLV [Oct. 1963], 23.) Another reason for mass support of the doctrine of regularity involves the psychological function of party loyalty and the role that inherited affiliation to an organization plays in allowing individuals to cope with a complex political world. For a brief discussion, see Michael Wallace, "Politicians and Statesmen: Conflicting Views on Party Loyalty and Party Legitimacy in the United States, 1815-1828," master's thesis, Columbia University, 1966, 121-27; see also Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics* (New York, 1921), 103-104; Herbert H. Hyman, *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), 46, 51-67, 90; Angus Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), 120-68.

⁵¹ Thus, "the caucus . . . was highly instrumental in enabling [the party] to wrest the power of this state . . . from the hands of its aristocratic opponents." (Meeting of Albany Republicans, Albany *Argus*, Apr. 23, 1824.) Only the caucus doctrine, by clearly affixing a well-known party label to a man, could coalesce the needed support behind candidates otherwise unknown (members of the middle or lower classes) and thus neutralize the aristocracy's greatest asset, the familiarity of their family names. When William Rochester was nominated by the party in 1826, the Albany *Argus* (Oct. 14, 1826) reacted sharply to the opposition's jeers: "The aristocratic spirit of the Opposition is . . . strikingly displayed [in their reaction to] the nomination of Mr. Rochester. . . . Who is he? Where is he from? are questions tauntingly asked. . . . We will tell the *gentry* who he is as well as who he is not. He is neither a Clinton, a Livingston or a Van Renssalaer, nor is he connected with any other powerful family in the state. If it indeed be true . . . that none are fit for the office of governor except men of extensive family connections, . . . then Mr. R. has no pretensions." Van Buren remarked in later years that it was a "striking fact" that "the sagacious leaders of the Federal party [had]

In the 1820's a subtle but important shift occurred: party discipline, from being essential to democracy, became the essence of democracy. What had been the practices became the principles of the party. Noah put the matter precisely.

Regular nominations . . . are not so much the engines as they are the principles of a party, because any system which tends to unite the people, to give them their rights, to promote harmony and unanimity, to effect reconciliation and a submission to the will of the majority, and a relinquishment of private attachments, such a system we call a cardinal principle in the administration of a representative government [*italics mine*].⁵²

The practices that tended to preserve the party became the real "principles" of the party, for the ultimate "principle" was self-preservation. The fact that republicans "were cordially disposed to respect and sustain the regular nominations of the party" was deemed "a principle of essential importance," indeed "a criterion of political orthodoxy." The system of discipline "which enjoins upon its members, the obligation of submitting to nominations fairly and regularly made" was declared to be "a great master PRINCIPLE," and "adherence to regular nominations" was pronounced "a sacred and inviolable principle."⁵³

Republicans came, in fact, to be defined as those who adhered to "the established usages of the party." They were men "whose steadfast support of the principles of their party [is] manifested through adherence to its practices."⁵⁴ Men who ignored or denounced party discipline were, conversely, to be ostracized, no matter how pure their republican ideology. "Let us consider that man no longer a republican, or belonging to our party, who . . . urges us to relinquish those safeguards [party discipline and caucus nominations] which hitherto have offered so much protection to the party."⁵⁵

The Republican party itself came to be defined as the organization that utilized party discipline. The method of holding the political unit together as an entity itself became the symbol of the unit. It was thus logical for Goshen (Orange County) Republicans to suggest that "at all meetings hereafter called by republicans . . . the republicans should be exclusively invited under the appellation of 'Friends of Regular Nominations.'"⁵⁶ The

always been desirous to bring every usage or plan designed to secure party unity into disrepute with the people, and in proportion to their success in that has been their success in the elections." Van Buren said that, conversely, whenever the Republican party was "wise enough to employ the caucus or convention system, and to use in good faith the influence it is capable of imparting to the popular cause," it was successful. (Martin Van Buren, *An Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States* [New York, 1867], 5.)

⁵² *New York Statesman*, Nov. 18, 1823.

⁵³ *National Advocate*, Oct. 28, 1823.

⁵⁴ *Albany Argus*, Mar. 30, 1824.

⁵⁵ *National Advocate*, May 31, 1822.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1824.

image of the party was clear: it was "the REPUBLICAN PARTY against the OPPOSITION—the friends of regular nominations against those who strive to destroy them"⁵⁷

Because their goal was the preservation of the party, the politicians lost interest in other, more ideological objectives. This is evident from their election appeals and campaign rhetoric. There were virtually no substantive planks in regency platforms—no programs of internal improvements, no plans for expanded education or agricultural improvements, no demands for expansion of the franchise, virtually no demands at all. There were many declarations that Republicans were the party of democracy, and their opponents the standard-bearers of aristocracy, but these were either vague statements asserting differences in temperament and style or, when made specific, differences in the structure of their organizations. Their basic campaign appeal was aimed at those who already identified with them, and it was simple enough: now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party. Most of their political advertisements were in fact apolitical; they were calls to the colors, exhortations to keep the organizational faith. Classic in its simplicity was this broadside: "Republicans, will you abandon that party which has done so much for your country? Remember the dying words of the brave Lawrence and 'DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!'"⁵⁸ Republicans were reminded of their party's glorious history. "Let scenes gone by, and blessings enjoyed, arouse every republican to a sense of his duty. Remember that republicans saved the nation from anarchy; that republicans stood firm in the 'trying times' of '98; . . . O Ye patriots of '76! Ye preservers of Democracy in '98; ye defenders of our rights in '12, '13, '14; come forth. . . ."⁵⁹ The most popular issues in regency campaigns

⁵⁷ The Clintonian opposition was remarkably sensitive to the darker side of the new party ethos; in a sense they were the first reform movement. They had, of course, objected to the new criteria for party membership from the beginning; it had been the cause of their ejection, and they protested vigorously: "We are accused of hostility to the 'unity of the Republican Party, and the integrity of its discipline and systems.' Not a word is said of the principles that bind us together but our disaffection is laid to the mode in which the party had thought fit to act when necessary to its purposes." They denounced the nexus of practice and principle that the regency had effected: "The genuine republican rules . . . on the principles of democracy, instead of any machinery of political leaders—on which the caucus men impudently say the existence of republicanism depends." Blind organizational loyalty was declared to be "at war with all the rights and doctrines of democracy." It tended to "degrade the people into mere countersigners of their masters' mandates and cheapen their free and intelligent suffrages into objects of barter and sordid calculation." With remarkable prescience, they asserted that the ultimate effect of party loyalty would be "to drive the great body of the people into submission to a few." It is interesting to note that the literary device critics often employed to describe the new political organization was the metaphor of a machine; regency leaders, for example, were "the master spirits, who have moved the wheels of this complicated and corrupt machinery." (New York *American*, Mar. 31, 1823; New York *Patriot*, Jan. 24, 1824; "State Convention," 1824 Broadside, BC; Clintonian Broadside, Oct. 20, 1824, *ibid.*)

⁵⁸ Broadside, Oct. 15, 1824, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Courtland *Courier*, quoted in Albany *Argus*, Oct. 15, 1824.

were those that had been safely dead for twenty years. Republicans were enjoined to ignore objections to particular regency policies, as they were simply threats to the safety of the organization; complaints about the defeat of the electoral bill, while seemingly legitimate, masked an insidious design. "It is not a question about the electoral law . . . that is now pending. It is whether the republican party shall stand or fall."⁶⁰

Such ideological urges as Republicans had were satisfied by their association in a democratic political party. Unlike the party's founders, they felt no need to use the party to achieve certain goals, for the perpetuation of a democratic organization was goal enough. The second-generation politicians were operational democrats.⁶¹

The "defense" of party association outlined in the preceding pages was relatively simple. Except for harnessing the legitimizing force of majoritarianism, the Republicans had merely recognized and ratified actual changes in the structure and function of parties. The more serious traditional rejection of party had always been closely associated with the rejection of political competition; to justify party fully, it was necessary to justify competition.

In eighteenth-century England parties had been frowned upon less because of their form than because their very existence was believed to be the sign of a flawed society. The ideal state was thought to be one without parties, without political competition—a society of consensus, unity, and harmony. The model for the state was the family. The familial metaphor was persistent in British political philosophy, finding its most extensive elaboration in Robert Filmer, and it remained powerful in the eighteenth century. In 1738, for example, Lord Bolingbroke wrote that "the true image of a free people . . . is that of a patriarchal family, where the head and all the members are united by one common interest, and animated by one common spirit: and where, if any are perverse enough to have another, they will be soon borne down by the superiority of those who have the same." For Bolingbroke, parties, almost by definition, were collections of perverse souls, for they perpetuated contention and division. He called for their elimination,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1824.

⁶¹ Not only were what were called "abstract" principles increasingly ignored because of the overriding concern with organizational support, but, in the rush of politics, they were increasingly betrayed. Edwin Croswell, editor of the Albany *Argus*, reflected on the problems the incontrovertibly democratic electoral bill raised for the party: "Admit the general correctness of it & yet is this the proper time for its introduction? Ought the question of expediency to be entirely disregarded; or ought it with Republicans, to be one of the first consideration?" (Croswell to Flagg, Dec. 9, 1823, Flagg Papers.) Expediency triumphed increasingly. The notion that legislators should vote as their constituents wished also became a hindrance to men like Marcy, who wanted legislators to vote as their party directed. "Some timid men who wish well to the democratic party are apprehensive that the current of public opinion runs so strong that it cannot be resisted. Too many are . . . popularity hunters." (Marcy to Van Buren, Dec. 14, 1823, Van Buren Papers.)

a principal task for his "patriot king." "Instead of abetting the divisions of his people, he will endeavor to unite them, and to be himself the centre of their union: instead of putting himself at the head of one party in order to govern his people, he will put himself at the head of his people in order to govern, or more properly to subdue, all parties."⁶² This dream of a unified state, beyond and above political competition, was the theoretical ideal of most men in eighteenth-century England, and there were many who went beyond mere dreaming: a large part of the lives of men like the Earl of Chatham and George III was spent in trying to reshape the stubborn, factious reality of British political life to conform to the ideal of a unified, broad-bottomed state.⁶³

The strength of the tradition, despite constant rebuffs in practice, lay in the continuing centrality of the monarchy. It was difficult to praise competition between the several political units of the state as invigorating and beneficial when one of those units was the king, the repository of much of the legitimacy of the state. Competition with the monarch was not competition, but opposition, and in the eighteenth century opposition still inferred disloyalty.⁶⁴ Still, opposition persisted, and it was justified increasingly by appeals to another powerful ideal: freedom. One could not limit the power of the king or his ministers if one adopted the attitude that uniformity and tranquillity transcended all other virtues: freedom and conformity, it was perceived, were often mutually exclusive. By the 1820's, Archibald Foord finds, the legitimacy of opposition to the government was widely granted; the permanent existence of His Majesty's Opposition, as it was called in 1826, was accepted as part of the constitution. Yet although the necessity for opposition was, with varying degrees of reluctance, accepted, the ideal of consensus remained powerful, certainly throughout the eighteenth century, and even in the nineteenth it echoed in the conception of the Ministry of All the Talents of 1806-1807. While occasional appreciations of political competition for its own sake can be found sprinkled throughout the century preceding the Reform Bill of 1832, they were, as Caroline Robbins notes, exceptions to the rule. "It should be emphasized that [those who accepted party] were many fewer than those who condemned party and faction, advocated uniformity of opinion, and praised nonpartisan public service."⁶⁵

⁶² "The Idea of a Patriot King," in *Works of Lord Bolingbroke* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1841), II, 402.

⁶³ See Bulmer-Thomas, *Growth of the British Party System*, I, 30; Pares, *King George III and the Politicians*, 116-17.

⁶⁴ See Lewis B. Namier, "Monarchy and the Party System," in *Personalities and Powers* (Torchbook ed., New York, 1965).

⁶⁵ Caroline Robbins, "'Discordant Parties': A Study of the Acceptance of Party by English-

In England's former colonies, the consensus ideal was also dominant, and parties were also denounced. This might at first appear surprising, for the inhibiting factor of the monarchy had been removed. Legitimacy was no longer immutably fixed, but resided in whoever captured the apparatus of government. Yet despite changed conditions, Americans adhered to English attitudes. They had of course been educated in the antiparty tradition, which they had received from all points of the political spectrum; it was the view of men like John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, as well as Bolingbroke.⁶⁶ But there were other, peculiarly American factors, that perpetuated hostility to organized competition. For one thing, the major opponents of the Revolution, those who might have formed the nucleus of a determined opposition, had left the country in great numbers; this relieved much of the pressure for re-evaluating the tradition. Secondly, the new government was an experiment in republicanism, isolated in a world of hostile monarchies. The leaders of the new nation were convinced that republics were delicate and fragile constructions, peculiarly susceptible to destruction by party virulence. To borrow Bernard Bailyn's phrase, the surface of public life was brittle, and Americans feared party contention might shatter it.⁶⁷ Finally, the desire to ensure freedom by limiting power, which had been a major force behind the growth of the English countertradition, was thought sufficiently assured here by the constitutional mechanisms of checks and balances within the government itself: by incorporating opposition into the system, the need for parties in the United States had been eliminated.

For all these reasons there were few indeed who disagreed with Washington's classic restatement of the consensus ideal in his Farewell Address. Warning his countrymen against "the baneful effects of the spirit of party," he insisted that partisan conflict "serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration"; that it "agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms"; that it "kindles the animosity of one part against another"; and that it was therefore definitely "a spirit not to be encouraged."⁶⁸ Despite Washington's words, reality remained refractory. At bottom the consensus ideal rested on the view that a "national

men," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXIII (Dec. 1958), 505. The re-evaluations of a man like Burke were not accepted in his own day. "Only the consecration of party by the success of the two-party system in Victoria's day has deceived posterity into thinking that Burke had the better of the argument in his own generation." (Pares, *King George III and the Politicians*, 117; see also Foord, *His Majesty's Opposition*, 1, 470.)

⁶⁶ See *The English Libertarian Heritage: From the Writings of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon in the Independent Whig and Cato's Letters*, ed. David L. Jacobson (New York, 1965), xliii-xliv, 45-50, 53-54.

⁶⁷ See the excellent essay by John R. Howe, Jr., "Republican Thought and the Political Violence of the 1790's," *American Quarterly*, XIX (Summer 1967), esp. 154-60.

⁶⁸ "Farewell Address," in *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, ed. James D. Richardson (10 vols., Washington, D. C., 1896), I, 231 ff.

interest" existed, a common good that rational men could agree upon. But in the young republic men agreed upon very little. To Washington's dismay, parties formed, advancing conceptions of the proper organization of society and the structure of government, representing conflicting economic and social interests, pressing differing views on foreign policy, contesting particular actions of the administration. And these parties were even more obnoxious to upholders of the old tradition than were English parties, to their detractors, for they represented not merely parliamentary cliques but popular movements, reaching deep down into society. Unheralded, unplanned for, and, for most Americans, unwanted, the first party system had come into being.⁶⁹

The growth of political competition had little impact on the consensus ideal. Departure from ideals seldom changes them, for the deviations are attributed rather to a lack of virtue in the transgressors than to lack of validity in the ideals themselves. Usually denunciations of violators grow shriller, and the virtue of the tradition is insisted on the more ferociously. That is what happened in the United States in the early nineteenth century. Although there were glimmerings of a re-evaluation of the consensus mentality during the Federalist and Jeffersonian eras—stray remarks about the value of party competition in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Robert Goodloe Harper, Fisher Ames, and John Adams coexist with more conventional denunciations of party, and James Madison achieved a major break-through on the subject of interest groups, though not political parties—the voices seem lost and isolated, exceptions that prove the rule.⁷⁰ The intellectual lag behind institutional practice increased.

⁶⁹ See note 5, above.

⁷⁰ The idea of the beneficence of political conflict had a life of its own, which, of course, antedated the regency years. Yet, although much research is required before anything approaching a fair assessment of the strength of proparty ideas in eighteenth-century America may be made, I feel tentatively justified in my assertion that the tradition had neither deep nor sturdy roots. Milton Klein asserts, however, that party competition flourished in New York in the eighteenth century and that the endless deprecations of party politics were simply rhetorical flourishes. "The political temper of the colony of New York can better be judged by the way men *acted* rather than by the way they *spoke* of parties and factions. . . . The newspaper references to the desirability of political peace and harmony are no more than pious bows to a theoretical ideal." (Milton Klein, "Politics and Personalities in Colonial New York," *New York History*, XLVII [Jan. 1966], 5.) But it is precisely my point that there was a tension between practice and preaching, that everyday behavior was felt to violate accepted standards of political propriety. Paul Goodman has noted that this tension existed as late as the 1790's and 1800's. And it had marked consequences for the way men thought about the legitimacy of political opposition. Goodman notes that slowly "political parties came to be recognized as institutions essential to the survival of free government, providing an orderly means of articulating the majority's wishes and settling differences among contending groups." (Goodman, "First American Party System," 57.) I suggest that the beginnings of this change are to be found in the 1810's and 1820's. On the background of thought on parties, see esp. Richard Hofstadter's forthcoming study, tentatively entitled "Jeffersonian Democracy and Political Parties" (Berkeley, Calif., [1969]); see also Bernard Bailyn's superlative work *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968), esp. 124-31; Nichols, *Invention of the Ameri-*

After 1815 an attempt was made to align theory and practice, but in a reactionary fashion: men tried to reshape reality to conform to the older ideals. The bitter animosities of the War of 1812 had convinced many that parties had to be eliminated. The most popular political book of the day was Mathew Carey's *The Olive Branch: or Faults on Both Sides, Federal and Democratic—A Serious Appeal on the Necessity of Mutual Forgiveness and Harmony, Dedicated to a Beloved but Bleeding Country, Torn in Pieces by Factious and Ruinous Contests for Power*.⁷¹ Peace in 1815, marking the passing of older issues, oriented to foreign policy, seemed a perfect opportunity to eliminate conflict. The nation's political leaders, noting the decline of the Federalist party, declared that political divisions were a thing of the past, that a time of harmony, unity, and consensus had arrived. It was to be an Era of Good Feelings in which the remnants of parties would come together in a celebration of national unity.

The idea of Good Feelings was professed nationally by men of the stature of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson. In his inaugural address, Monroe declared that parties were not needed. Echoing Bolingbroke, he announced that "the American people constitute one great family with a common interest." The national interest was so obvious that there could be no deviation from it. "Discord," he declared, "does not belong to our system."⁷² Privately Monroe noted that a "great undertaking" would be to "exterminate all party divisions in our country."⁷³ Adams declared too that he would "break up the remnant of old party distinctions, and bring the whole people together in sentiment as much as possible."⁷⁴ In his inaugural address, he asserted that party competition had ended; "the baneful weed of party strife" had been uprooted. It remained for those who had "heretofore followed the standards of political party" to make "one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion," that

can Political Parties, 231-32, 257; *The Making of the American Party System*, ed. Noble Cunningham (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), 17-20, 23-25; *id.*, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, 303.

⁷¹ Edward C. Carter II, "Mathew Carey and 'The Olive Branch,' 1814-1818," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIX (Oct. 1965), 399, 409.

⁷² *Messages and Papers*, ed. Richardson, III, 10.

⁷³ Monroe to Jackson, Dec. 14, 1816, in *Writings of James Monroe*, ed. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (7 vols., New York, 1901), V, 346. "Many men," continued Monroe, "very distinguished for their talents are of the opinion that . . . free government cannot exist without parties. This is not my opinion. . . . That the ancient republics were always divided into parties; that the English government is maintained by an opposition . . . I well know. But I think that the cause of these divisions is to be found in certain defects of those governments, rather than in human nature; and that we have happily avoided those defects in our system." (*Ibid.*) To Madison he wrote: "surely our government may get on and prosper without the existence of parties. I have always considered their existence as the curse of the country. . . ." (Monroe to Madison, May 10, 1822, *ibid.*, VI, 151, 289-91.)

⁷⁴ John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874-77), VI, 474.

of "discarding every remnant of rancor against each other" and "embracing as countrymen and friends."⁷⁵ And in 1817 Jackson wrote President Monroe that "party and party feelings ought to be laid out of view." "Now," he argued, "is the time to exterminate that monster called party spirit."⁷⁶

This was the standard approach to parties and political competition in the 1820's. Against this background, the innovations of the regency politicians in New York once again take on special interest. The attitudes they had evolved toward their opponents in the normal course of political life determined to a large extent how they would react when the Good Feelings persuasion was advanced and used against them on their home grounds in 1824.

The primary goal of regency politicians was to preserve their party. This is of utmost importance for understanding their attitudes toward their opponents in New York politics. Their goal was not to destroy, overwhelm, or eliminate their opponents; they were not ideologues bent on the destruction of evildoers. They were able, therefore, to realize that the continued existence of an opposition was necessary, from the perspective of perpetuating their own party; opposition was highly useful, a constant spur to their own party's discipline. While the party might, it was argued, "suffer temporary defeats" in the interparty struggle, "it is certain to acquire additional strength . . . by the attacks of adverse parties." Indeed, the party was "most in jeopardy when an opposition is not sufficiently defined."⁷⁷ As another writer noted, "there is such a thing as a party being too strong; a small and firm majority is more to be relied upon than an overwhelming and loose one."⁷⁸ The politicians were aware that during "the contest between the great rival parties . . . each found in the strength of the other a powerful motive of union and vigor."⁷⁹

This need for opposition led to a fertile paradox. The Federalists and their latter-day avatars, the Clintonians, were, of course, guilty of heinous political sins: they were aristocrats, personalists, factionalists, no-party heretics. Yet they were also the opposition. As a consequence, the Federalist party (a label Republicans attached to their major opponents of the moment), while condemned, was simultaneously praised; it was the strong, flourishing, and virtuous organization to which Republicans would accede should it obtain the support of the state's majority. From the need for a sustained opposition came verbal bouquets like the following:

⁷⁵ *Messages and Papers*, ed. Richardson, III, 294.

⁷⁶ Printed in *Albany Argus*, May 18, 1824.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr. 9, 1824.

⁷⁸ *National Advocate*, Nov. 14, 1821.

⁷⁹ *Albany Argus*, Mar. 5, 1824; see also Van Buren's remark: "In the Senate we will stand as strong as we could possibly wish, more might endanger our harmony." (Van Buren to Daniel Evans, May 10, 1819, Van Buren Papers.)

From the first organization of the government . . . this country has been divided into two great parties. . . . Neither party has yielded to the other in the zeal with which it has sought to procure concert among its members, or to give ascendancy to its principles, and although we may lament the occasional inconsistencies and the dangerous excesses into which both have unavoidably been betrayed, . . . we cannot for a minute admit that the majority of either have been actuated by any other than the purest, the most patriotic, and the most disinterested motives.⁸⁰

The *Argus* declared that “we wish not to be understood as having the slightest objection to the maintenance of the old federal party, broadly and with the spirit of other times.” The two competing parties, the paper observed, “have existed among us almost from the formation of our constitution, and we are content with their present organization.”⁸¹

The regency, then, had no desire to eliminate its opponents. Rather it hoped for a “tranquil though determined opposition.”⁸² It is significant that during the 1820’s the word “opposition” itself gained popularity in Republican circles. They noted things in “the conduct of the Opposition which afford both amusement and instruction”; rejoiced in frustrating “the hopes and expectations of the Opposition”; and discussed in their papers “the views and opinions of what may now be termed the Opposition to the Democratic Party.”⁸³

This acceptance of the continued existence of their opponents engendered a sportsmanlike attitude toward the competition. The Oneida *Observer* asserted that Republicans should “exercise a liberal and tolerant spirit toward political opponents, and . . . treat them with a moderation and courtesy which shall leave them no reason for complaint. . . . We feel disposed to allow purity of motives in general to political opponents and as individuals to reciprocate sentiments of good will and esteem.”⁸⁴ The Albany *Argus* also stressed a spirit of moderation: “It is right that the Clintonians should have their meetings; we care not how they organize . . . [and] we shall avoid disturbing their conventions. . . . To interfere with the meetings of the opposing party, is blackguardism; it betrays a little, mean spirit, that an intelligent, high minded man would disown.”⁸⁵ Governor Enos Throop, a regency man, observed that “political parties, at the present day, sobered by past experience, leave scope for the exercise of all the charities and courtesies of life, between opposing members. Their spirit does not enter into families to engender hate, nor into social and religious societies to

⁸⁰ Albany *Argus*, Apr. 4, 1824.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1824.

⁸² Cooperstown *Watch Tower*, quoted *ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1824.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, Apr. 20, 9, 1824.

⁸⁴ Quoted *ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1824.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1824.

create dissensions, and to produce bitter and destructive enmities.”⁸⁶ To be sure, to outsiders it appeared that New York politicians lived in a state of perpetual civil war, but, the natives argued, this impression resulted from misunderstanding. One paper attempted to reassure a visitor who had protested against the bitterness of a local election that Republicans got on splendidly with their opponents:

At the late election in the first ward, when the federalists in that ward mustered powerful, beat us by two or three hundred, did not we democrats visit their committee room, and most pacifically eat their crackers, drink their beer, and smoke their segars? To be sure we did; and if Mr. Gales had favored us with a month's residence, he would have discovered that this bitter feeling was all smoke, only visible on days of election.⁸⁷

Republican politicians even envisioned occasionally ceding power to their enemies. They had, after all, done it often enough. Alternating in power with political opponents was a recurring experience. Yet they had a theoretical justification for this alternation that allowed them to deal with ejection from power quite calmly: they applied the doctrine of majoritarianism to interparty relations, a process less elegantly known as the spoils system. Just as they thought that the minority of the party must submit to the greater number, so they thought that the party that obtained a majority of the votes of the state should rule completely, until such time as the minority party managed to convert itself into the majority party. As the *National Advocate* put it, “when a great political change takes place—when one party completely triumphs over another, it is then to be expected that a change is also to take place in the offices. The very circumstance of victory supposes a reformation or alteration in the order of things.”⁸⁸ Regency men insisted that the victorious party had the right to all the offices. This was not vindictive but democratic. As Van Buren noted, this had been Jefferson's policy:

True to his trust, he not only administered the government upon the principles for which a majority of the People had shown their preference, but he carried the spirit of that preference into his appointments to office to an extent sufficient to establish the predominance of those principles in every branch of the public service. This he did, not by way of punishing obnoxious opinions, or to gratify personal antipathies, but to give full effect to the will of the majority.⁸⁹

But while the spoils system enshrined Marcy's dictum, “to the victors belong the spoils,” it also carried with it the vitally important idea that when

⁸⁶ *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Charles Z. Lincoln (11 vols., Albany, N. Y., 1909), III, 276.

⁸⁷ *National Advocate*, Nov. 15, 1821.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr. 30, 1818.

⁸⁹ Van Buren, “Autobiography,” ed. Fitzpatrick, 123.

the party found itself outvoted, it would submit gracefully to blanket proscription. As Van Buren informed the 1821 constitutional convention, "that the majority should govern was a fundamental maxim in all free governments; and when his political opponents acquired the ascendancy, he was content that they should have it in their power to bestow the offices of the government."⁹⁰ As the *National Advocate* put it, "we will surrender nothing voluntarily to our opponents; let them fight and conquer, as the democratic party has done, and we will submit quietly. . . ."⁹¹

These were the attitudes regency politicians developed toward their opponents amid daily political struggles. Their lack of ideological fervor and their emphasis on preserving their institution contributed to a lowering of the political temperature. In the cooler atmosphere of the 1820's the politicians perceived that an opposition was necessary, and they came to think in terms of the continued existence of two parties, each sincere, legitimate, and capable of administering the government. Within this framework of attitudes a re-evaluation of the consensus ideal could easily emerge. But ideas seldom spring forth without some encouragement, no matter how conducive the times. A stimulus was needed, some reason to force the regency men to think about their political universe and to make them articulate their attitudes toward political parties. The stimulus came in the mid-twenties with a barrage of antiparty criticism from their New York opponents. Only when confronted with a severe challenge to their habits and practices would they formulate a rebuttal. A brief look at the position of the New York antiparty spokesmen may help us understand what provoked the regency response.

The New York opponents of the Albany Regency, drawing on the antiparty spirit of the national leaders, reasserted the old consensus ideal. Clinton, for example, declared that the clash of parties has "rent us asunder, degraded our character, and impaired our ability for doing good."⁹² He too felt there was no need for division:

I hardly understand the nomenclature of parties. They are all republicans, and yet a portion of the people assume the title of republican, as an exclusive right.

⁹⁰ *Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821*, ed. Nathaniel Carter and William L. Stone (Albany, N. Y., 1821), 354.

⁹¹ *National Advocate*, May 31, 1822. They often did submit quietly; Van Buren in particular set an example in 1819 when he was removed as attorney general by Clinton. He informed the governor through intermediaries that "he might rest assured that he would hear of no personal complaints from me or my friends on account of my removal," cheerily admitting that he would have done the same were he Clinton. (Van Buren, "Autobiography," ed. Fitzpatrick, 93.) On the other hand, they often violated their own precepts and resorted to various evasions to retain office after losing an election.

⁹² *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, II, 54-55.

. . . It is easy to see that the difference is nominal—that the whole controversy is about office, and that the country is constantly assailed by ambitious demagogues for the purpose of gratifying their cupidity.⁹³

Many New Yorkers shared Clinton's attitude. They correctly observed that no deep differences of principle divided the parties: "We ask [the regency] to lay down what it considers to be the republican creed, and then to designate any considerable body of men in this country whom it would not embrace."⁹⁴ But they went on to conclude that no matters of controversy remained that required opposing political organizations. "What does the great mass of the people . . . care for party? Why should the people be divided into a thousand different interests without knowing for what, and made hostile to each other, when their true and only interest is to be united?"⁹⁵ Many assumed that the politicians, with their vested interest in discord, were perpetuating artificial divisions among a happy and passive people. Regency leaders like Erastus Root were charged with engaging in a "mean and contemptible effort to revive party names, and to excite prejudices by cant phrases."⁹⁶

The solution was obvious: eliminate parties. If one could "knock aside all artificial arrangements and the whole machinery of party," it would prevent the "citizens of the state having their sentiments perverted by intrigue and corruption."⁹⁷ If parties could not be exorcised, they could at least be merged and amalgamated, particularly as there existed no difference between them. The critics proclaimed an end of parties. The Federalists, "having no longer any ground of principle to stand on, [have] necessarily ceased to exist as a party."⁹⁸ Again "[both parties] have manifested a willingness to drop old animosities and obsolete names, and to unite with their former political opponents."⁹⁹ And again, "the barriers of party are completely broken down and the lines of political demarcation cannot be again drawn."¹⁰⁰

When it became apparent that the Republicans had no intention of merging with their opponents, much less of dissolving, the antiparty men moved beyond rhetoric. They organized. They formed, of all things, a party, an antiparty party, a party to end parties. The People's party, formed in 1823 by Clintonians, Federalists, and dissident Republicans, appealed

⁹³ Cited in Denis Tilden Lynch, *An Epoch and a Man: Martin Van Buren and His Times* (New York, 1929), 240.

⁹⁴ *Albany Argus*, Sept. 12, 1823.

⁹⁵ *New York Statesman*, June 17, 1823.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1824.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 27, 1823.

⁹⁸ *Albany Argus*, Sept. 12, 1823.

⁹⁹ *Albany Register*, Jan. 11, 1820.

¹⁰⁰ *New York Statesman*, Sept. 20, 1824.

to the electorate "not in the spirit of *party* warfare, for this is emphatically the cause of the People."¹⁰¹ "We contend," the People's men declared, "not for the aggrandizement of a party of men, leagued together for selfish purposes, but for a great COMMON CAUSE, interesting to the people of this state."¹⁰² Their candidates were picked "without reference to PARTY POLITICS," as it had been deemed "best to sacrifice party considerations on the altar of public good."¹⁰³ They offered their party as a means whereby members of all groups could unite, but it was highly unlikely that many regency Republicans would be lured into support of the fledgling party in light of the candidate it chose to support in 1824—De Witt Clinton. Yet here a theoretical assault on party was linked to a potentially powerful organization and a popular candidate. If the antiparty message appealed to many in the electorate, the regency was in trouble. The emergence of the People's party threatened regency hegemony and forced its members to defend the party system that had evolved in New York. This they consciously set about to do. As the Albany *Argus* stated, "the doctrines of dissolution and amalgamation . . . must be met and resisted."¹⁰⁴

The regency defense against the amalgamation attack took five forms. Their first, most parochial, and probably most effective position was that the philosophy of amalgamation, for all its seeming disinterestedness, was actually an opposition trick, the purpose of which was not to unite the country but to destroy the Republican party. Secondly, on a more theoretical level, regency Republicans denied that parties had dissolved, but rather that they continued in undiminished strength, a result traceable to powerful ideological and historical forces perpetuating them, which the Good Feelings men had ignored. Thirdly, they rejected the entire vision of a society based on consensus; the proper political universe was characterized by constant contention; the truly moral man was not one who put himself above party, but was a committed partisan. Fourthly, echoing the English justification of opposition, they declared that parties had to exist in a free state, that the elimination of parties occurred only under despotism. Fifthly, and most

¹⁰¹ *Address of the Democratic Republicans of the City of Albany to the Electors of the State of New York* (Albany, N. Y., 1824), 3.

¹⁰² *New York Statesman*, Sept. 20, 1824.

¹⁰³ *Rochester Telegraph*, Nov. 5, 1823.

¹⁰⁴ *Albany Argus*, May 14, 1824. There was another, equally conscious conflict on the national level, waged primarily against Monroe. Van Buren reminisced about the "degree of odium" brought upon him by his staunch resistance to amalgamation doctrines "within the precincts of the White House and in most of the circles, political and social, of Washington." "The noisy revels," he recalled, "of bacchanalians in the Inner Sanctuary could not be more unwelcome sounds to devout worshippers than was this peal of the party tocsin in the ears of those who glorified the 'Era of Good Feeling.'" (Van Buren, "Autobiography," ed. Fitzpatrick, 126.)

broadly, they declared that, for several reasons, competition between parties benefited the state. We must examine each of these arguments in detail.

Republicans declared that advocacy of Good Feelings was a Federalist plot. By persuading Republicans that parties no longer existed, or by convincing them that they no longer should exist, the Federalists would loosen the bands of party discipline so vital to the party, and it would dissolve; then the Federalists would step in and recapture the government. "The great design and hope now is to abolish the old political distinctions," warned the Albany *Argus*, "and as a revolutionary consequence TO DESTROY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY."¹⁰⁵ The glorification of unity was a ruse: "the affections of union, and of the dissolution of all parties, is [*sic*] only a snare for [Republican] feet."¹⁰⁶ That the doctrine was being promulgated was simply a sign of Federalist weakness:

We have indeed heard of the "era of good feelings"—We have been told also, that the federal party was dissolved; and that time and circumstances had destroyed all the old political distinctions. But when have these declarations been obtruded upon the public? Always at the close of a losing election under the influence of renewed convictions of the energies of the Democratic party.¹⁰⁷

In 1812, for instance, the Federalists had also "cried aloud unto all the Gods of amalgamation and 'good feeling' and they proclaimed everywhere the passing away of party distinctions."¹⁰⁸ Then the party had stood firm; it should do so again:

Suffer yourselves not to be deceived, we entreat you, fellow citizens, by the insidious suggestions of those who may inculcate the alarming and dangerous heresy, that the necessity of adhering to regular nominations no longer exists, because your ancient opponents are not openly marshalled in hostile array against you. It surely requires but little sagacity to discover, that the true course on the part of your adversaries is to promote confusion and discord in your ranks, and then to stand ready to profit by your dissensions. Adherence to regular nominations . . . [is] as necessary to be practised at the present as at any former period.¹⁰⁹

At the heart of the appeal of Good Feelings was the assertion that no differences in principle divided the country; therefore, no legitimate basis for party competition existed. This proved a difficult argument to answer, for it contained much truth, but regency men responded in two ways. One was an exercise in exaggeration, the other an observation of great shrewdness. Their first answer was to assert that a great division did exist in the country, based upon differing constructions of the Constitution and disagreements

¹⁰⁵ Albany *Argus*, Apr. 9, 1824.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1824.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1824.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1824.

¹⁰⁹ *National Advocate*, Oct. 28, 1823.

over the value of republicanism. Van Buren's formulation of this Republican equivalent of a Whig history is among the more concise:

The origin of the two great political parties which have divided the country, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present day . . . has . . . been attributed to causes which had either become obsolete, or been compromised by mutual concession. . . . [In reality] they arose from other and very different causes. They are, in truth . . . mainly to be ascribed to the struggle between the two opposing principles that have been in active operation in this country from the closing scenes of the revolutionary war to the present day—the one seeking to absorb, as far as practicable, all power from its legitimate sources, and to condense it in a single head. The other, an antagonist principle, laboring as assiduously to resist the encroachments and limit the extent of executive authority. . . . The former is essentially the monarchical, the latter the democratical spirit, of society.¹¹⁰

There was, of course, some truth at the core of the argument: there had been important distinctions in ideology and style between the two parties in the past generation. But this portrait of politics had much less relevance to the state of parties in New York in the 1820's; the attribution of a monarchical spirit to the Federalists was clearly overdrawn. David Fischer has shown how remarkably the second generation of Federalists had changed their rhetoric; in New York they were self-proclaimed supporters of the rights of the people.¹¹¹ But regency men simply pointed to past party performance and declared that no real change had occurred. "The whole Federal party cannot so suddenly have altered their opinions nor abandoned their distinctive principles. As well might the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots."¹¹² And they insisted that differences in principle remained so striking that it was impossible "to destroy the old landmarks of party," impossible to "draw men into a political union who were never united before, and who, from the utter dissimilarity of their views and notions, never could act cordially together."¹¹³

The regency's second, more muted response to the amalgamationists was also more radical. Parties, they declared, were not simply ideologically coherent organizations, at odds over fundamental issues. They were social institutions in their own right, largely independent of their earlier ideological stances. The men who advocated Good Feelings had confused competition between parties with the bickering of factions:

[Their error] arises from a comparison of the two great parties in this country with those ephemeral party divisions which occasionally separate the community,

¹¹⁰ *Substance of Mr. Van Buren's Observations in the Senate of the United States, on Mr. Foote's Amendment* (pamphlet, dated Feb. 12, 1828), in Van Buren Papers.

¹¹¹ David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1965).

¹¹² *Albany Argus*, Mar. 5, 1824.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1824.

which arise from local or individual causes, and which cease to exist when circumstances render those immediate causes inoperative. It is not so with the parties of which we speak. These, although they may originate in single points of difference TAKE DEEPER ROOT: they outlive the causes of their commencement and those who constitute them are led to opposite sides upon all public questions which may arise in the progress of public transactions.

New issues did not require new parties; rather the two traditional organizations remained to act as vehicles for opposing positions. The parties maintained themselves not so much by love of "principle" as by the attachment of the members to the organization itself. The men composing parties "are bound together by a thousand affinities and alliances; the alliance is cemented by time and strengthened by the strongest affections and antipathies; real or fancied persecutions rivet the bonds of union." These loyalties were then transmitted to the next generation. "The succession of generations renders them the more enduring, and the transmission of the sentiments and feelings of the father to the son is generally regular and unbroken. . . . The parties remain unaltered; they are embodied in the constitutions and inherent in the minds of men."¹¹⁴

Association with a political party, therefore, was not simply the result of a conscious decision; parties were not to be dissolved after certain issues were resolved. Rather, party affiliation and thus party divisions were handed down, like heirlooms, from generation to generation. Once again, amalgamation was precluded.

The Republicans' third rejection of amalgamation was perhaps their most radical, for it condemned the consensus ideal itself, declaring that it led to politically immoral behavior. The regency conception of what comprised political honesty and morality was not an avoidance of party, but a consistent adherence to party. Amalgamationists insisted that party men of opposite faiths should come together; with Republicans it was an article of political morality for them to remain apart. The Republicans did not respect the man who, following the consensus tradition, put himself above party. They were partisans and respected only other partisans. "Those who continue neuter in any civil dissensions under the denomination of moderate men,

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1823. The assertion that party affiliation was a matter of inheritance was a remarkable insight. Van Buren later wrote that "sons have generally followed in the footsteps of their fathers, and families originally differing have in regular succession received, maintained, and transmitted this opposition. Neither the influences of marriage connections, nor of sectarian prejudices . . . have, with limited exceptions, been sufficient to override the bias of party organization and sympathy. . . ." (Van Buren, *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties*, 7.) Marvin Meyers has discounted this passage, noting that "there would seem to be something accidental in this hereditary transmission of loyalties." (Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* [Vintage Books ed., New York, 1960], 280.) But modern scholarship in the social sciences has borne out the validity of Van Buren's analysis; see, e.g., Hyman, *Political Socialization*, 46, 51-67, 90.

who keep aloof . . . are generally stigmatized . . . and are neither esteemed nor trusted by either party." Their mentor was not Bolingbroke but Solon, who, they noted, "declared any man infamous who in any civil dissension in the state should continue neuter and refuse to side with any party."¹¹⁵ A man who disengaged from politics and affected aloofness from parties was not praiseworthy. He might be a trimmer: "in all times, men of incorruptible integrity and virtue have been found in the ranks of parties; and the affected denial of their existence, or an assumed independence of them springs rather from a propensity to trim, and a hankering after official rewards, than from any elevated and patriotic feeling." Or he might be a despot: "it is easy for those whose ambition is as insatiable as the sea, and who to gratify their inordinate lust for power, would overleap all bounds, to affect to be independent of all things, except for the good of the whole, to act for the nation and not for a party, to be patriots and not politicians."¹¹⁶

Men who abandoned one party for another were thoroughly denounced. They were condemned, with almost ecclesiastical fervor, as "apostates."¹¹⁷ But even worse than apostasy was vacillation. The politician who drifted from party to party was condemned as "inconsistent"; Butler lucidly outlined the immorality of this attitude. Writing to Van Buren, Butler declared that "*political consistency* [is] as indispensable as any other *moral qualification*. For say what you will it is a *moral* qualification." This was so because the "man who is dishonest and unstable in his politics" is "equally dishonest and unstable in the relations of his private life."¹¹⁸ The *National Advocate* advanced a similar argument: "the fixed character of men in public life can only be judged by consistent doctrines"; "the man who joins with any party or every party" is morally suspect.¹¹⁹ Here again Clinton was denounced as a miscreant; he was "notorious as an ever-inconsistent changeling—notorious for his political inconsistency."¹²⁰ But lesser politicians who flaunted regency standards of sectarianism in the political world were also chastised, as in the lashing by the Albany *Argus* of Benjamin Riggs, who floated from Clintonians to Bucktails and back again:

¹¹⁵ Albany *Argus*, Feb. 13, 1824.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1824.

¹¹⁷ It must be admitted that the regency could more readily stomach apostates if they were arriving rather than departing. In 1820, for example, a portion of the old Federalist party known as "the high-minded" moved into the Republican ranks. Butler even had to send a "suggestion for Mr. Noah" to moderate his attacks on Federalists: "It is not very serviceable to talk much of Burrises, Lewisites, or the Highminded. Several of [them] are here among our best friends." (Butler to Jesse Hoyt, Jan. 29, 1824, in William MacKenzie, *The Lives and Opinions of Benjamin Franklin Butler and Jesse Hoyt* [Boston, 1845], 38.)

¹¹⁸ Butler to Van Buren, May 6, 1829, Benjamin F. Butler Papers, New York State Library, Albany.

¹¹⁹ *National Advocate*, July 11, 1817.

¹²⁰ Albany *Argus*, Oct. 15, 1824.

It was always hard to say which party he belonged to. . . . He is *consistent* only in being *inconsistent*. . . . We could not imagine it possible for [anyone] to be guilty of such barefaced inconsistency. If the people of this county will countenance such vacillating politicians, if they will sanction acts so outrageous to decency—so injurious to the character of their citizens, . . . they are possessed of less *regard for good order* and decorum, than any of their past conduct prove. . . . We call upon all honest politicians to look well to such conduct before they approve it.¹²¹

This partisan spirit proved the deadliest foe of the consensus mentality. It governed relations between party organizations, not just party members, and thus barred amalgamation. Partisans did not switch, and parties did not mix: organizations as well as individuals were consistent.

The terminology of morality, not tactics, was used when discussing inter-party relations. Alliances, temporary joining of party forces, were frowned upon. The *National Advocate* observed that “it is by avoiding and discountenancing these alliances with old and steady opponents that the republican party may confidently calculate on success. It is more honorable to be in a virtuous minority than to succeed by such connections.”¹²² And if alliances were suspect, amalgamation was anathema. Michael Hoffman, a member of the regency, declared: “I advise against amalgamation. . . . I cannot support a federal, all-party administration. . . . Let us be Republicans, go for the whole, gain what we desire, or fail.”¹²³ Like Hoffman, Butler hoped for a “manly and independent course,” one that rigidly adhered to the “old lines,” for he felt a “relaxation” would “sap the very integrity and permanency of the party.”¹²⁴ Politicians knew that “these opinions . . . [were] scorned and ridiculed by the disappointed and discontented, by those who are prepared to break down all party distinctions, and to obliterate our ancient landmarks.” “But,” they declared, “they ought to be cherished and sustained by all who are opposed to a ridiculous amalgamation of parties.”¹²⁵ In the rightly ordered political universe, then, there were two or more political parties, they and their members kept separate by the principle of consistency.

The fourth argument advanced by the Republicans concerned the inevitability of parties in a free state; their absence or amalgamation was evidence of repression. Republicans assumed that in any society there would be more than one conception of the national interest. In order to express these differences, men form parties: those whose “general interests are the same”

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1824.

¹²² *National Advocate*, Apr. 15, 1818.

¹²³ George W. Smith, “The Career of Michael Hoffman,” *Papers of the Herkimer County Historical Society*, 1896 (Herkimer, N. Y., 1896), 7.

¹²⁴ Butler to Flagg, Dec. 15, 1827, Flagg Papers.

¹²⁵ *National Advocate*, Sept. 6, 1824.

will always combine to promulgate their ideas, for "all experience has shown, that efforts to be powerful, must be concentrated."¹²⁶ It followed that society normally contained parties contending with one another. "Diversity of opinion results from the infirmity of human judgment; and party spirit is but the passion with which opposing opinions are urged in the strife for the possession of power."¹²⁷ The development of parties was considered to be a natural and irresistible phenomenon: "It is the vainest thing in the world to deny the existence of parties. They will exist."¹²⁸

Yet they might not exist, if repressed: parties developed only in societies that tolerated organized dissent. The very existence of parties was, therefore, an indication that freedom of expression existed. Parties "will prevail where there is the least degree of liberty of action on the part of the public agents, or their constituents; . . . they are . . . inseparable from a free government."¹²⁹ The association of parties and freedom was a basic theme of the regency defense. "Parties," they declared, "will ever exist, in a free state."¹³⁰ The maintenance of parties, they asserted, was "necessary to the just exercise of the powers of free governments."¹³¹ Because this was such an obvious equation, they hinted darkly that their Good Feelings opponents, in calling for an end to parties, were contemplating an end of freedom. It was much commented on that military men like Jackson were fervent advocates of eliminating parties, and they contrasted such behavior with their own: "Fortunately for our country, and its institutions, there is another class of politicians, whom we delight to honor, who believe, that when party distinctions are no longer known and recognized, our freedom will be in jeopardy, as the 'calm of despotism' will then be visible."¹³² Party competition was the hallmark of a free society.

The fifth ground for rejecting the consensus ideal derived from the belief that permanent competition between political parties was a positive benefit to the state. This was their broadest argument, most likely to appeal to nonpoliticians. "We are party men, attached to party systems," they declared, but added, "we think them necessary to the general safety. . . ."¹³³

¹²⁶ *New York Senate Journal*, 1824, 18.

¹²⁷ *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, III, 274-75.

¹²⁸ *Albany Argus*, May 14, 1824.

¹²⁹ *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, III, 274.

¹³⁰ *New York Senate Journal*, 1824, 18.

¹³¹ *Albany Argus*, May 14, 1824.

¹³² *National Advocate*, Sept. 6, 1824. When Van Buren decided to support Jackson for the presidency in 1828, he had a difficult time convincing his party to do the same. Most regency politicians considered Jackson a no-party heretic. Even someone as high in party circles as Marcy proved recalcitrant: "I am somewhat thick skulled about making distinctions," he wrote Van Buren acidly. "I do not very clearly see how I can prefer with a strong preference an anti-caucus—amalgamation—no party candidate to another who has held the same heretical doctrines." (Marcy to Van Buren, Dec. 10, 1826, Van Buren Papers.)

¹³³ *National Advocate*, May 31, 1822.

And again, "for the safety of the republic & the good of the people" it was imperative to "keep up and adhere to old party distinctions."¹³⁴ How did they justify this position? For one thing, party competition provided a check upon the government; it was an extraconstitutional aid to the people. "The spirit of party," they declared, was "the vigilant watchman over the conduct of those in power."¹³⁵ The parties were "among the firmest bulwarks of civil liberty,"¹³⁶ and politicians insisted that they were "necessary to keep alive the vigilance of the people, and to compel their servants to act up to principle."¹³⁷ But exactly how did they do this? One of their major functions was to inform the people.

[Parties] on either side of the question, become the counsel who argue the cause before the people. . . . The solicitude and interest of political rivalry, will sufficiently expose the crimes, and even the failings, of competitors for the people's confidence. Competitors of this description *force* into notice facts, . . . which the people at large could never have derived from the ordinary commerce of thought.

The people are thus presented with expert watchdogs: "leading men, on both sides of the question check one another," and the people, presented with informed alternatives, "know when to support and when to oppose."¹³⁸ Governor Enos Throop asserted that the party system allowed the people to participate intelligently in government.

Those party divisions which are based upon conflicting opinions in regard to the constitution of the government, or the measures of the administration of it, interest every citizen, and tend, inevitably, in the spirit of emulation and proselytism, to reduce the many shades of opinion into two opposing parties. . . . [The] organized parties watch and scan each other's doings, the public mind is instructed by ample discussions of public measures, and acts of violence are restrained by the convictions of the people, that the prevailing measures are the results of enlightened reason.¹³⁹

Party competition had another value: it agitated the public and kept the mass of people interested in the operation of the government. It produced discord, and discord, despite the attitudes of the men who advocated Good Feelings, was of utmost value to republics. For, in the eyes of the Bucktails, the real danger to republics was not division, as in consensus cosmology, but apathy. And the surest cure for apathy was party competition. This idea

¹³⁴ Butler to Van Buren, May 6, 1829, Butler Papers.

¹³⁵ *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, III, 275.

¹³⁶ *New York Senate Journal*, 1824, 18.

¹³⁷ *Albany Argus*, May 28, 1824.

¹³⁸ *National Advocate*, Nov. 17, 1821.

¹³⁹ *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, III, 274.

is most closely associated with Van Buren. From the beginning of his political life he had appreciated the value of conflict. In 1814, for example, amidst the bitter animosities of the war, he said that

on the various operations of government with which the public welfare are connected, and honest difference of opinion may exist—[and] when those differences are discussed and the principles of contending parties are supported with candor, fairness, and moderation, the very discord which is thus produced, may in a government like ours, be conducive to the public good.¹⁴⁰

There were others who adopted their leader's message. In 1821, for instance, Erastus Root praised party spirit at the constitutional convention: it was "necessary," for "it keeps the political blood in a genial circulation, and prevents it from running cold and the heart from ceasing to palpitate."¹⁴¹ But Van Buren worked hardest at convincing others. In 1827 he lectured his colleagues in the United States Senate:

In a Government like ours founded upon freedom in thought and action, imposing no unnecessary restraints, and calling into action the highest energies of the mind, occasional differences are not only to be expected, but to be desired. They rouse the sluggish to exertion, give increased energy to the most active intellect, excite a salutary vigilance over our public functionaries, and prevent that apathy which has proved the ruin of Republics.

Apathy, not division, endangered republics, and party competition provided the remedy. "Like the electric spark," the contests dispelled "from the political atmosphere the latent causes of disease and death."¹⁴²

Then, paradoxically, party competition bound the country together. Here was one of the shrewdest observations that the politicians made. While only in its formative stages in the 1820's, this idea would quickly enter the main current of ante bellum thought. Van Buren and his colleagues realized that contrary to antiparty mythology, the really divisive threat to the nation

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Van Buren, "Autobiography," ed. Fitzpatrick, 50.

¹⁴¹ *Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821*, ed. Carter and Stone, 388.

¹⁴² Van Buren, "Autobiography," ed. Fitzpatrick, 512. This redefinition of the real danger to popular government was a consequence of the fact that thirty years had elapsed between the beginning of party conflict and the era of the Albany Regency. The second generation did not inherit the fears of the first concerning the fragility of republics, and for the best of reasons: after three decades of experience, they knew that the system worked. Parties had alternated in power throughout their lifetimes, and the competition had not damaged the republic in the slightest. Throop realized this clearly: "In times past . . . party spirit . . . [alarmed] the fears of patriotic men for the integrity of the Union: but at those periods, the compactness and harmony of our admirable system of government were not thoroughly understood, nor had the attachment of the people to it been fairly tested. Experience has proved that its foundations are laid so deep . . . and its complicated machinery is so nicely adjusted . . . that it has an energy sufficient for its own preservation." Throop spoke for an entire generation when he observed that "our invaluable institutions have suffered but little, if anything, from the spirit of party, fiery and excited as at times it has been." (*Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, III, 276.)

was not party, but section. Party associations that cut across sectional lines were, in fact, an antidote to interregional stress. The Good Feelings men, by calling for the elimination of parties, were exacerbating sectionalism. Republicans accused them of wanting "to ABROGATE THE OLD PARTY DISTINCTIONS" in order to "organize new ones founded in the territorial prejudices of the people."¹⁴³ The consequence of abolishing the old political distinctions would be "to array republicans against each other under such new and artificial distinctions . . . as geographical locations, such as North and South, East and West."¹⁴⁴ Van Buren rested much of his case for the maintenance of the old parties on this ground: "We must always have party distinctions, and the old ones are the best. . . . If the old ones are suppressed, geographical differences founded on local instincts or what is worse, prejudices between free & slave holding states will inevitably take their place."¹⁴⁵

Finally, contests between political parties benefited society by eliminating the fierce contentions of personal parties. Decrying the "cant and self-interests" that "utter lamentations over the prevalence of party division and the exhibition of party feelings," Butler wrote that

we are not of that fastidious sect which can desire the extinction of the old parties—which would sweep away the associations . . . and give us in their stead the bitter contentions of personal feuds, and the degrading personalities of an individual vassalage. . . . The old divisions are virtues which we . . . cherish. The contests which grow out of them are salutary and needful efforts for the preservation of the community.¹⁴⁶

It was now obvious, as Throop noted, that it was "one of the peculiar benefits of a well-regulated party spirit in a commonwealth, that it employs the passions actively in a milder mood, and thus shuts the door against faction. . . ."¹⁴⁷

By the end of the 1820's, the amalgamation attack had been met, the consensus tradition rejected. "Let us be greeted no more," demanded the *Albany Argus*, "by the cant and whining about the extinction of party feel-

¹⁴³ *Albany Argus*, Aug. 1, 1823.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 9, 1824.

¹⁴⁵ Van Buren to Thomas Ritchie, Jan. 13, 1827, Van Buren Papers. See also *Albany Argus* (Jan. 13, 1824): "When men are governed by a common principle, which is fully indulged and equally operative in all parts of the country, the agency of party conduces to the public good. But the political opinions of the same men, when actuated by feelings of a sectional character are directly the reverse. What is *party* in the one case, is *faction* in the other."

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1824.

¹⁴⁷ *Messages from the Governors*, ed. Lincoln, III, 276. See also *Albany Argus* (Oct. 8, 1824): "[Parties] are in themselves checks upon the passions, the ambition, and the usurpations of individuals. . . . In their absence, personal factions, private feuds, and all the acrimonious feelings of local contentions would not fail to spring up."

ings and the impropriety of endeavoring to keep them alive."¹⁴⁸ "Parties of some sort must exist. 'Tis in the nature and genius of our government."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1824. Even in the quiet aftermath of the election of 1824, with Clinton triumphantly installed in the statehouse proclaiming an end of parties, the Albany *Argus* insisted that the calm would soon pass. "The present calm is delusive and unnatural. Political divisions are inseparable from our habits and our institutions. . . ." (*Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1825.) The ideas of the regency men were still in the minority, in state and nation, in the 1820's, but they would spread until, by the end of the century, they had become axioms of American political thought, clichés of the popular mind. (See David Rothman, *Politics and Power* [New York, 1966], Chap. viii.) For some of Van Buren's later formulations of his party philosophy, see Max M. Mintz, "The Political Ideas of Martin Van Buren," *New York History*, XXX (Oct. 1949), 422-48. I deal with the development of the ideas set forth in this essay in my dissertation in progress, "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States, 1815-1865."

Inukai Tsuyoshi: Some Dilemmas in Party Development in Pre-World War II Japan

TETSUO NAJITA

THE transference of parties (I refer here to nonrevolutionary parties) from the West to Japan produced mixed results before the Pacific War: spectacular success in one period and miserable failure in another. From their inception as weak and inchoate bodies in the 1880's they grew in the next forty years into veritable machines of power and corruption. Then, in the 1930's, they abruptly declined as effective political organizations and appeared to have lost their identity after nearly half a century of sustained growth. The explanations for this pattern of development are many, and it would be difficult indeed to single out a comprehensive causal factor. But it seems to me that a critical dimension was the growing separation between organized political activity and other fields of action, notably ethical (and aesthetic), which, as Abbott Payson Usher has suggested in his work on mechanical inventions,¹ had different "systems of events" with disparate historical sequences. Nowhere is this phenomenon of separations between fields of action more clearly evident than in the transference of institutions to a soil that had none of the nutritive roots present in the parent field. And it is doubly evident when these institutions, such as a political party, are able to influence the distribution of power.

The history of political parties in Japan before the Pacific War might fruitfully be viewed from this general perspective, as I shall attempt to illustrate through the career of Inukai Tsuyoshi (1853-1932), perhaps the most widely known and respected figure in the party movement in the prewar period. Parties in Japan were utterly without historical precedents. And they confronted a separate universe of ethical assumptions: sincerity between men, unselfish dedication to serve all of society, a spiritual consensus based on personal loyalties. Nourished by tradition, these assumptions had become idealized and ingrained in conventional behavior and constituted

► *An associate professor at the University of Wisconsin, Mr. Najita specializes in modern East Asian history, with emphasis on Japan. He received his doctorate from Harvard University in 1964; he worked there under Albert M. Craig. He has published Hara Kei in the Politics of Compromise, 1905-1915 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). Portions of this paper were presented at the American Historical Association meeting in New York, December 1966.*

¹ Abbott Payson Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions* (rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 23.

a latent obstacle to political action within parties, which were partisan and interest oriented. Indeed, among party men such as Inukai, the gap between party politics and ethical action created dilemmas and deep-seated feelings of ambivalence that directly impinged on their functions as party leaders.

Most treatments of the history of political parties in Japan have not adequately stressed this fundamental split. They have been content, by and large, with emphasizing the corruptive influences of compromises (that is, the sacrifice of democratic principles) made by party men with their privileged political rivals, the ruling cliques or *hambatsu*. This line of explanation obviously tends to see party history in the light of the rise and decline of democracy, and, in particular, the failure of parties to achieve the "bourgeois democratic revolution." As I have argued elsewhere,² it is inadequate as an organizing theme because it does not provide an accurate view of the sustained growth of parties. The fact remains, however, that the dynamic growth of parties did not assure their persistence as influential groups in the turbulent 1930's. Without claiming finality, I feel that the reasons for this decline can be traced to that fundamental division between conventional canons of ethical behavior and the practical needs of political action within parties. In other words, party men were unable to give ethical legitimacy to the practical procedures they used to acquire and maintain power; especially, they failed to make a convincing case that these procedures contributed to the general good of the entire nation, hence they faced scathing criticism from articulate segments of the educated public challenging the validity of parties.³ This problem became increasingly acute between 1905 and 1930 precisely because party men were succeeding in systematically increasing their influence through pragmatic means.⁴ And those few who believed they had formulated a defense for party government in terms of conventional ethics that would bridge the cleavage between party and public found themselves caught in a web of ambiguity and confusion. Such was the case of Inukai, who tried persistently to define party government in terms understandable to broad segments of the Japanese public. He illustrates most clearly, it seems to me, how the cleavage between party and public mentioned above impinged on the actions of those party men who

² See Tetsuo Najita, *Hara Kei in the Politics of Compromise, 1905-1915* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

³ For a general statement along these lines, see *Political Parties and Political Development*, ed. Joseph LaPolambara and Myron Weiner (Princeton, N. J., 1966), 26. The inability of party men to defend party government convincingly is no doubt part of another process Maruyama Masao has called the "depoliticization" of critical segments of the public. (Maruyama Masao, "Patterns of Individuation and the Case of Japan: A Conceptual Scheme," in *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*, ed. Marius Jansen [Princeton, N. J., 1965], 489-531.)

⁴ Perhaps the best documentation of systematic "party evils" is Hosoi Hajime's *Seisō to tōhei* [Political Struggle and Party Evils] (Tokyo, 1914). Hosoi was a reporter for *Asahi*.

sought to acclimate the parties to the Japanese political scene. He is of still greater importance because he serves to bring out two points often neglected by historians and political critics in Japan: the arguments for party government that drew the greatest sympathetic responses from the public were Sino-Japanese ethical precepts and symbols, not Western political theories; and, at the same time, these ethical precepts could not be related, in the long run, to the pragmatic approaches to power so intimately connected with party politics itself, thus greatly limiting the parties as unifying bodies in Japan.

Inukai is a particularly good example in this interpretive inquiry.⁵ His political career—from his participation in forming the *Kaishintō* in 1882 to the establishment of his first cabinet in 1932—virtually spanned the entire period of party development before the Pacific War. More important, although a political realist himself, he, more than any other politician, insisted that the parties had to satisfy the ethical expectations of the public; he tried, therefore, to maintain a consistently idealistic position regarding relationships between parties and public. Because of this concern he gained the affectionate epithet (along with Ozaki Yukio) of “god of constitutional government” (*kensei no kami*), and it is partly for this reason, too, that he still commands the respect and sympathy of many Japanese intellectuals.⁶

Despite Inukai's popularity, his significance to the historian is evident less in his political successes than in his failures. Although he was a member of the Diet for an uninterrupted period from 1890 to 1932, his career as a party leader was not marked by impressive achievements.⁷ His failure to

⁵ The main sources I have used in this study are *Inukai Bokudō den* [Biography of Inukai Bokudō], ed. Washio Yoshinao (3 vols., Tokyo, 1938); Uzaki Kumakichi, *Inukai Tsuyoshi den* [Biography of Inukai Tsuyoshi] (Tokyo, 1932); *Inukai Bokudō shokanshū* [Collection of the Letters of Inukai Bokudō], ed. Washio Yoshinao (Tokyo, 1940). The first two are richly documented biographies; the third is a collection of Inukai's personal letters. In English, Inukai is treated at some length in Marius Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat sen* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); and Joseph L. Sutton, *A Political Biography of Inukai Tsuyoshi* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1954). Jansen examines Inukai in the context of Pan-Asian thought among some important Japanese figures, while Sutton analyzes Inukai's construction of his famed electoral base.

⁶ This can be seen, for example, in Oka Yoshitake's fine treatment of Inukai in his *Kindai Nihon no seijika* [Politicians of Modern Japan] (Tokyo, 1960), 143–96; and in Imai Seiichi's “Inukai Tsuyoshi” in *Kindai Nihon no seijika, 20 seiki o ugokashita hitobito* [Politicians of Modern Japan, Men Who Moved the 20th Century], ed. Tōyama Shigeki (10 vols., Tokyo, 1964), X, 251–327.

⁷ In 1898 he became Minister of Education in the first cabinet of Ōkuma Shigenobu, but only for two weeks. In 1913 he was offered the ambassadorship to China as consolation for his exclusion from the first cabinet of Admiral Yamamoto Gonnohyōe, an offer he quickly rejected. In 1917 he was a member of a “foreign policy review board” (*gaijō chōsakai*) that was widely criticized for having extraconstitutional powers. He assumed the position of Minister of Communication, the least prominent of cabinet posts, in the undistinguished and unpopular second cabinet of Yamamoto. In 1925 he again served as Minister of Communication, this time in a cabinet under a politician, Katō Kōmei. But Katō, with some justification, distrusted Inukai and did not give him a major role in decision making. He became, in 1929, president of the powerful Seiyukai, a party that he had frequently criticized in public. And finally, in 1931, he formed his first cabinet to put down the militarists and was assassinated before he

gain power has often been explained in terms of his personality: his dogmatism, his vituperative tongue, his lack of diplomacy, and the like. While these traits are no doubt important in understanding Inukai, they do not explain what seems to have been the central dilemma of his political personality. On the one hand he had a fondness for practical politics and for tactical maneuvering that attracted him to his pragmatic and more successful rivals. But on the other hand he concealed this pragmatic tendency because of his genuine desire to project an image of idealism, of political purity, or, as he frequently would say, of "righteous politics" (*zensei*).⁸ It is this tension running through his lengthy career as party leader that makes him important as a subject of historical inquiry.

Inukai's political attitudes were formed in his early training during the waning years of the Tokugawa period.⁹ Raised in a samurai house (in the present-day Okayama Prefecture) belonging to the scholarly tradition of Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682), Inukai inherited from that tradition Yamazaki's intellectual synthesis of Neo-Confucianism and indigenous Shintoism. In this synthesis the Shinto ideals of reverence for the emperor and of maximum human refinement of special skills, which made men extraordinary and god-like, were meshed with the Neo-Confucian concept of intellectual achievement as a metaphysical imperative, synonymous with discovering "principle" in the self. With the metaphysical, or Chinese, influences removed, this line of thought affected the development of a dogmatic form of romantic nationalism beginning in the late eighteenth century. For Inukai, however, Chinese learning remained intact; thus, like many samurai-scholars in the Tokugawa period, he was at once a genuine Sinophile and a nationalist.¹⁰

The importance of this eclectic tradition in forming Inukai's personality lies in its emphasis on political moderation. He therefore denounced irrational nationalists for their impulsive criticism of rational politics and Sinophilism, building his case on a defense of the great rational historicist and Sinophile, Ogyū Sōrai (1666-1728), whom nationalistic critics had labeled a traitor, "possessed by things Chinese."¹¹ Inukai observed that Ogyū

could carry out his task. This is an unimpressive catalogue of achievements for a party politician who was active for more than forty years.

⁸ This is a theme running through his letters. A good example is his letter of November 16, 1919, addressed to Yano Keido (*Inukai Bokudō shokanshū*, ed. Washio, 305-306), where he decried the baneful impact of bureaucratism and capitalism on parties and stressed the need to turn toward "righteous politics." (See also Oka, *Kindai Nihon no seijika*, 176 *et passim*.)

⁹ Uzaki, *Inukai Tsuyoshi den*, 20-21; *Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, I, 3-25.

¹⁰ There is abundant documentation for this in his letters, *Inukai Bokudō shokanshū*, ed. *id.*, and in his biography, *Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. *id.*

¹¹ The term for this is *shina kabure* which was used, for example, by Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) against Ogyū's scholarship. (*Ibid.*, III, 40-43.)

was a nationalist, despite his obvious admiration for Chinese history and culture, because he believed, as did Yamazaki, in the uniqueness of Japan's political evolution into a "great nation."¹² Ogyū's scholarship, however, was quite distinct from Yamazaki's: the former rejected metaphysical principle as a valid criterion by which to evaluate men and history and argued instead for relativity of historical circumstances; the latter accepted metaphysical principle as an essential theoretical constant. Despite this profound difference in intellectual assumptions, Inukai saw a substantial area of agreement between Ogyū's hypothesis of relativity of historical experiences and Yamazaki's attempt to restore Shintoism. Above all, for Inukai, both men were united in a common pragmatic belief that the cause of national development was best served within the rational confines of the legal order. Isolating Ogyū and labeling him an authoritarian Sinophile, as many nationalists did was, therefore, slanderous and irresponsible. In this defense of Ogyū we see clearly the importance of Tokugawa thought for Inukai. The generous intellectual attitude toward China and the realistic assumption that orderly development on the domestic scene was a political virtue¹³ were major elements in Inukai's political personality throughout his long career as a party politician.

There was another dimension to this legacy of rational politics, a dimension that was essentially moralistic in content and heavily Confucian in origin. According to this view, effective politics rested not on coercion alone but more fundamentally on social acceptance of governmental action; the quality of this receptivity was determined by the dominant ethical or religious precepts among the people. A perfectly designed political order, in short, meant little without ethical acceptance of it by society.

Inukai identified the dominant ethical precept in society as "loyalty to Emperor, piety to parents [*chūkō*]," the maxim instilled in the minds of the young through the system of universal education. He noted, however, that this dictum was inadequate, a superficial manifestation of a deeper, more essential, spiritual value whose implications went far beyond the confines of that phrase and included relationships among all men, institutions, and nations.¹⁴ Because society relied on this simple formula, Inukai noted, its moral fiber had weakened. While much of society continued to behave loyally, respectfully, and sincerely, these actions had become in fact routine, hollow, and, most detrimental of all, apolitical, detached from the main processes of government.

¹² *Ibid.*, 40-47.

¹³ See, e.g., his defense made in December 1931, three months before his death, of orderly change through party government. (*Ibid.*, 78-79.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-11, 76-78.

What was needed in society, according to Inukai, was not the systematic inculcation of a simple ethical formula but the conscious restoration of a deeper ethical value of moral worth in all men. He often referred to this deeper value with the well-known Confucian term *jen*, the humane "principle" generic to men. In defending this principle, he pointed to a number of overlapping ethical traditions operative in Japan that buttressed a similar concept of personal worth. And he stressed the responsibility incumbent on everyone to be fully aware of the political implications of these traditions. To illustrate his point, Inukai indulged in a bit of historical analysis, apologizing as he did this for the crudeness of his categories.¹⁵

He traced the historical roots of the idea of personal moral worth to two broad traditions that were still forces in his society. One he described as the introspective, meditative, and intuitive tradition associated with Zen Buddhism and the Ōyōmei (Wang Yang-ming in Chinese) or intuitionist wing of Neo-Confucianism. The other he described as essentially non-meditative, the source of truth being external to the self—"grace" in the case of the Buddhist faith sects and "reason" found in a body of written knowledge (the Confucian classics) in the case of rational Neo-Confucianism. While he believed that both traditions reinforced the same ideal of the moral worth of the individual, he de-emphasized the intuitionist tradition as a broad political ethic for modern Japan. He was personally attracted to its creative potential and hence its value as a private ethic, but he quite correctly saw the elitist tendency inherent in intuitionism, particularly in its exclusive emphasis on self-reliance as the basis of discovering moral truth. He perceived it, in fact, as a potentially dangerous concept for the intellectually undisciplined and immature. As he put it in 1913, intuitionism could lead to "hysteria" among impetuous youth;¹⁶ nineteen years later he was to be assassinated by young officers fitting this description. Although deeply moved by the example of Saigō Takamori,¹⁷ one of the heroes of the Meiji Restoration who epitomized the ideals of the Ōyōmei and Zen traditions, he carefully distinguished between Saigō's sense of moral self-reliance, which was impressive and worthy of praise, and his statesmanship, which was neither too impressive nor praiseworthy. Instead he spoke in generous terms of Ōkubo Toshimichi, the rational bureaucrat and *bête noire* of ultranationalists, liberals, and Marxists alike. Although he realized that there were differences in shading and flavor, he praised all the oligarchs of the early Meiji period as dedicated politicians.¹⁸ These assessments are indicative of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 295.

¹⁷ As a youth Inukai was attracted to a career in the army because of his admiration of Saigō. (*Ibid.*, I, 74-85.)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 12-16, 287-96.

his general de-emphasis of the intuitionist tradition as a political ethic because of the extremist and unpredictable tendencies implicit in it. They also underscore his acceptance of the ideal of rational political action embedded in the tradition of Yamazaki and Ogyū.

His emphasis was definitely in the nonmeditative tradition. Although Buddhist "faith" and Neo-Confucian "reason" are far from identical (the former positing a transcendent Being as the source of grace, the latter a body of written knowledge as embodiment of the universal principle), Inukai discussed them together because they both emphasized an external source of truth as the basis for self-awareness. In this respect, both were far less restrictive in scope than intuitionism and hence better suited for most of society. For Inukai, however, "reason" clearly superseded "faith" in importance as a political ethic. Quite aside from the fact that his early education had stressed this principle of reason, it was in fact more secular as a body of ideas, not being concerned with salvation but with political stability, and he felt it was more eclectic and all-embracing than Buddhism. Thus, his defense of the nonmeditative tradition was stated primarily in Confucian not Buddhist rhetoric. Drawing on the words of Confucius (as restated by Ogyū) Inukai summed up his argument by saying that the multitude must be made to rely on an external source of ethical and political norms because for the most part men could not perceive truth on their own.¹⁹

For Inukai, then, the "multitude" must be made conscious (through education) of moral worth as a valuable personal property—as real as "things" were real, he suggested. The operative term in this context was "conscious," for to him moral awareness gave predictability to action. Ethical awareness was the source of an individual's purposeful drive in a variety of fields to better himself and his society; it provided the basis for limiting the operation of institutionalized power; it gave ethical content to national political institutions, including parties. Like Confucian scholars through the ages he observed that the actions of men in and out of power should be aimed at making institutions approximate the principle of goodness in men, thereby forging the necessary ethical link between society and the mechanisms of political coercion. Unless an ethical link were consciously forged, he warned, politics would be subject to unpredictable fluctuations and perhaps fall into total disarray in moments of national crisis. The criterion of individual and national "interest" could not act as a substitute for a guiding ethical constant since it was subject to radical redefinition varying with time and circumstances and hence utterly unreliable as a standard

¹⁹ The phrase Inukai used is as follows: *tami wa yorashimubeshi, shirashimubekarazu*. Inukai used this phrase often in the sense I have described it. (*Ibid.*, 2-9, 40-43.)

for political action. The foundation of politics, he concluded, was conscious commitment by all to ethical principle.²⁰

The pattern of Inukai's thinking is clear. His skeptical view of xenophobic nationalism, moral intuitionism, and interest politics, his defense of the political ideas of Ogyū in terms of the eclectic ideals of Yamazaki, and his advocacy of rational commitment by society to the ideal of moral worth in men were all part of a consistent pattern of thought. They point to a conception of politics in which politicians properly work for orderly transformation within the legal order and are committed to the well-being of the national polity and to a set of ethical precepts that are broadly humane in the Confucian sense and intimately related to the ethical convictions of the people.

This conception closely resembles the Tokugawa model of the scholar-politician or the samurai "gentleman" (*shi*),²¹ which had two closely interrelated meanings for Inukai. One was the Confucian belief that the art of governing was the noblest and most dignified of human endeavors. It was in this context that he validated the role of party politician for Japan. Because he was convinced that within the legal confines of the Meiji Constitution the task of governing would fall on the shoulders of parties, he thought of a party leader as one dedicated to orderly change and imbued with "faithfulness" and "humaneness," hence noble and dignified. It was this ideal, moreover, that made him stress consistently the superiority of loyalty and sincerity between persons over interest-oriented politics. The other concept of the ideal gentleman was expressed in terms of the image of the Japanese warrior, the *bushi*. Inukai did not, however, emphasize the swashbuckling bravado that became the ideal of some young extreme nationalists in the 1930's but rather the late Tokugawa image of the samurai bureaucrat: firm in his moral convictions and utterly dedicated to serving the greater good of society. This explains his fascination with the sword, which to him symbolized not only the inner stamina of the Japanese warrior but also the "moral caliber of the people";²² it also explains his consistent emphasis on the superiority of moral integrity over political theory. When Inukai spoke of the "healthy" or "pure" party man, then, he meant it primarily in terms of the dedicated and sincere gentleman, or *shi*. And when he argued that the size and power of the party had no bearing on whether or not it was a "people's party," he meant that only a

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-12, 29-31, 59-65.

²¹ See Ronald Dore's excellent study, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), for a composite description of the educated samurai in Tokugawa Japan.

²² *Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, III, 187.

party made up of “gentlemen” and acting as a repository of popular ideals of “healthy” government could be a true “people’s party.”

Inukai’s private activities and interests reflected his beliefs: he was an accomplished calligrapher, wrote Chinese-style poetry, and was excellent at the game of go; he sponsored campaigns to revive the study of the Confucian classics; and he founded associations to restore the art of sword-making. Moreover, unlike virtually all political leaders in his day, he never visited Europe although he had ample opportunities to do so. After 1898, in fact, he stopped reading Western works. Although he had painstakingly learned English during his years at Keiō University (1876–1880) and had read and translated works on parliamentary democracy and international law and trade, by his own admission, he read exclusively in Chinese and Japanese sources.²³

From the late 1890’s, it was clear that, in his thinking, “Eastern values” had assumed greater importance than “Western structures.” He had accepted the assumption of his teachers Fukuzawa Yukichi and Ōkuma Shigenobu that the proper structure to provide political participation and social unity in Japan was constitutional government; this meant party government, government by a majority party in the lower house, and a majority based on public opinion. But quite contrary to his view on ethics, he also accepted the restrictive view of liberalism that while everyone would be protected by law, not everyone would have the right to participate in politics. Public opinion to Inukai meant primarily the opinion of those with a sense of responsibility, that is, those with education, status, and wealth. He held, in short, the Burkean view still commonly espoused in the West at the time that one could rightfully participate in the political process only to the extent that he contributed to the state and hence had concrete interests to defend and promote.²⁴ These premises remained constant throughout his career. In the 1920’s he supported manhood suffrage, but this did not lead him to alter substantially his basic assumptions. He continued to assume that parties would grow stronger within the framework of Japan’s constitutional government and would in his lifetime become the sole arbiters in decision making. Despite his acceptance of the structure of party government, he moved steadily to the conclusion that its Western theoretical

²³ *Ibid.*, 59–67, 155–87.

²⁴ Inukai believed that parties would improve steadily because more and more party men were coming from the class with “considerable wealth” and “considerable status” and, therefore, had a stake in good government. (*Saikin seikai no shinsō* [The Details of Recent Developments in the Political World], ed. Okumura Akira [Tokyo, 1911], 28–29; see also a stimulating essay by Koyama Hirotsada, “Seitō seijika no shikō yōshiki, Inukai no baai” [The Intellectual Style of Party Politicians, the Case of Inukai], in *Kindai Nihon no seiji shidō, seijika kenkyū* [Political Leadership in Modern Japan, Researches on Politicians], ed. Shinohara Hajime and Mitani Taichirō [2 vols., Tokyo, 1965], II, 199–249.)

underpinnings could not provide sufficient justification for party government in Japan.

Western theoretical explanations of political structures grew out of a set of ethical assumptions sanctioned by tradition. And since the tradition was substantially different from that of Japan (although not always at odds, he admitted), the primary task facing his country was not the study of secular political statements of Western values but the study and politicization of those "Eastern values" that Japan had inherited. Unless this was accomplished, political theory would remain mere abstraction and political structure a fragile edifice, lacking a stable basis of legitimation. The issue at stake as Inukai saw it, then, was not whether party government could be theoretically explained but whether it could be made ethically acceptable to the Japanese public.²⁵

Following this line of reasoning, he de-emphasized political structure to the point of self-deception. An examination of his speeches indicates that he did not advocate the reform of institutional arrangements.²⁶ His acceptance of parties as political organizations was, moreover, uncritical and too idealistic. He decried publicly the construction of national party organizations for purposes of infiltrating the government at all levels as ultimately unimportant if not irrelevant. And he put little emphasis upon the importance of money in politics, boasting frequently that he had little need for campaign funds and that he personally accepted money from men of the industrial combines, Mitsui and Mitsubishi, only because these donors were loyal and devoted friends.²⁷ Yet, while decrying organization, money, and interest politics, he advocated party government in which the participants would be men of "wealth and status" having interests to defend and promote. And more bewildering still, while publicly minimizing the importance of strong organization, he contradicted himself by aspiring, throughout his career, to become the leader of a powerful, nationally based party.

A case can be made that Inukai's ethical view of politics was simply a rationalization of his failures as a practical politician. There is no doubt truth to this, for this view became more adamant as his party declined in power; from a potentially major party in the 1890's and early 1900's his group in the Diet declined to eighty-eight members in 1910, forty-four in 1913, and twenty-seven in 1915. Thus, one might argue that he stressed

²⁵ *Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, III, 3-11, 29-31.

²⁶ See, e.g., his speeches in the period 1890-1912, *Bokudō seironshū* [Collection of Inukai's Political Speeches] (Tokyo, 1913), for later years in his *Inukai Bokudō shi daienzetsushū* [Collected Speeches of Inukai] (Tokyo, 1927).

²⁷ Koyama, "Seitō seijika no shikō yōshiki," 214-23. His establishment of close ties with Asabuki Eiji of Mitsui and Toyokawa Ryōhei of Mitsubishi is related in Uzaki, *Inukai Tsuyoshi den*, 66-69.

political idealism because he failed as a realistic politician. But Inukai's realistic propensities should not be underestimated. If he had wanted to advance toward undisguised political realism, as did some of his close friends, he could have done so and thrived. His hesitation, clearly, was due to his discontent with the arguments of his pragmatic opponents (men such as Hara Kei of the Seiyukai and Ōishi Masami of his own party, the *Kokumintō*) that politics was power and that the satisfaction of private economic and political interests was a *sine qua non* in party politics.²⁸

This formula, he held, was inadequate and self-defeating because it did not accommodate the ethical attitudes and expectations, such as sincere and honest leadership and harmony in society, held by broad segments of the public. He thus viewed the pragmatic growth of parties with considerable pessimism, even arguing that powerful parties tended to be divisive forces in Japanese political life. "Parties have principles and hence are basically alike. . . . Yet, they are divided by conflicts of emotion and interest. . . . They are not divided over a concern for the welfare of the people; they are divided solely by the conflicting interests of rival party organizations."²⁹ In his opinion this interparty conflict failed to direct politics toward the achievement of national goals; the most important of these goals was for Inukai, and many political critics as well, the realization of spiritual solidarity among the people. And he believed that unless the parties worked toward these spiritual ideals, they probably would not survive. It was this concern, not mere rationalization of his declining influence as a pragmatic leader, that prevented Inukai from shifting totally from an ethical to a strategic orientation in party politics. Inukai believed a balance between ethical ideals and strategy could be struck, although his career shows otherwise.

The ambivalence in Inukai stemming from these two orientations is evident from the outset of his career as a party politician. He believed in the goodness in men and in harmony and sincerity in human relationships, which were diametrically opposed to interest-oriented and partisan politics, the pragmatic approaches that made parties powerful organizations in

²⁸ A good example is this passage by Hara in spring 1914: "Obviously expansion and unity benefit [the private interests of] the party. But if we should consider the matter from the question of promoting constitutional government, then the actions of our party are natural. . . . If we want . . . to shoulder the burdens of the state and contribute our services to the nation, we must constantly strive to expand the power of our party." (Kobayashi Yūgō. *Rikkō Seiyūkai shi* [History of the Seiyūkai] [4 vols., Tokyo, 1924], IV, 11.) Ōishi's arguments are clearly presented in *Saikin seikai*, ed. Okumura, 11-12. Ōishi was a close friend and political ally of Inukai from the 1890's until about 1906.

²⁹ Quoted in Koyama, "Seitō seijika no shikō yōshiki," 227. An almost identical statement of his is the following: "Parties today do not act on the basis of principles. They are held together by considerations of selfish interests only. Hence their futures are uncertain. . . ." (Inukai to a supporter, Kinoshita Kantarō, Mar. 17, 1916, in *Inukai Bokudō shōkanshū*, ed. Washio, 202.)

Japan. As an idealist, he argued for "righteous" party government in which all the parties would unite into a national political union expressing ethical consensus in public opinion. In his view (and in that of many political critics as well),³⁰ party government was understood to mean the harmonious coalescence of popular (or general) will and imperial (or sovereign) will, without interference from nonelected political groups such as the powerful cliques of Chōshū and Satsuma, the two great feudal domains in southwest Japan primarily responsible for directing the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In terms of strategy, the parties should unite and remain intractable and uncompromising in their opposition to these cliques entrenched in the House of Peers, the Privy Council, the Imperial Household, the military, and the bureaucracy. The union would then prove irresistible in moments of crisis, compelling the cliques to concede the immediate establishment of party government. Throughout the 1890's and until about 1912, Inukai rarely participated in the day-to-day debates in the Diet, devoting most of his time and energy to the achievement of such a union of political parties.³¹ Yet his idealistic strategy was doomed to failure because he accepted the legal institutional arrangement within which parties grew steadily in strength on the basis of the satisfaction of political and economic interests distributed along strictly partisan lines.³²

As a pragmatic strategist, Inukai was aware of the tactics parties used to acquire power in order to attain certain concrete policy objectives. He too had policy objectives that were neither traditionalistic nor ethical. From around 1905, for example, he consistently advocated the reduction of military expenditures. Arguing that the age of diplomacy based on military power had ended, he appealed for the reduction of military service from three years to one, and, using Listian economics, he urged that capital resources in the country be channeled unequivocally toward the construction of a firm industrial base (*sangyō rikōkoku*).³³ Having realistic goals such as these,

³⁰ Critics such as Miyake Setsurei and Nakano Seigō writing for *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* [Japan and the Japanese], a liberal and nationalistic journal, were especially well known for presenting this view. Yoshino Sakuzō, perhaps the most articulate and persuasive exponent of "Taishō democracy," also argued in a similar vein. To Yoshino, loyalty to the throne and democracy were entirely compatible: "Those who argue that democracy is not compatible with the national political essence are thinking in terms of an ancient and mistaken belief that the people and the emperor are irreconcilable poles. Thus, they created barriers [between emperor and people]. . . . But in a democracy, loyalty is not a special prerogative of a few advisers of the throne; it is the prerogative of all the people. . . ." (Yoshino Sakuzō, *Gendai no seiji* [Modern Politics] [Tokyo, 1915], 14-15.)

³¹ We catch glimpses of him working toward a union during the public protests against the unpopular Portsmouth Treaty in 1905, during the Great Treason Incident in 1911 when twelve anarchists were executed on highly controversial evidence, and in 1912-1913 during the Taishō Political Crisis (*Taishō seihen*), when Prime Minister Katsura Tarō pitted himself against the Seiyūkai in a momentous struggle.

³² I have developed this theme of partisan politics in the first four chapters of *Hara Kei*.

³³ From as early as 1880 Inukai opposed the idea of free trade. He became involved in a debate with the famous Meiji scholar Taguchi Ukichi. Taguchi argued from classical economic

Inukai set out from the beginning of his party career to cultivate with great care a virtually foolproof electoral base for himself—his famed “iron political base”—by luring the support of local men of influence with, among other things, the prospect of economic gain.³⁴ And as early as 1892, he had sought to buttress his political position by establishing close personal ties with men from Satsuma, one of the two major cliques that had a controlling voice in the government.³⁵ As Inukai was to learn, he had gambled on the wrong horse: the Satsuma faction declined in power, and his objective of using its influence in order to establish party government did not succeed. This realistic approach to party politics, however, continued throughout his career.

He remained extremely sensitive to the arguments of his openly pragmatic opponents. These opponents, Hara of the Seiyukai in particular, contended that the idea of a popular “union” was simplistic and obscurantist because an effective coalition depended upon uncompromising and total opposition by the parties to the ruling cliques.³⁶ This position, they argued, was untenable because these same parties had accepted a constitutional arrangement that provided ample room for these cliques to establish themselves legally, as “representatives” of the impartial will of the emperor vis-à-vis the parties representing special interest groups in the public.³⁷ Short of dismantling the entire constitutional apparatus by revolutionary means, which the parties in question, including Inukai’s, were not prepared to do, the plan of total opposition, while admittedly useful for rallying public support, was a contradictory position to take and irrelevant as a realistic political strategy. The only meaningful political alternative for the parties was to increase steadily their power with the legal means available, overcome the ambiguities of “dual representation,” and ultimately become the major determi-

premises, especially as presented by John Stuart Mill, while Inukai based his arguments on Frederick List, especially the idea that free trade was a British luxury that Japan could not afford. Inukai’s polemical essay on this subject is in Uzaki, *Inukai Tsuyoshi den*, 69–72. His best statement on industrialism is “Sangyō rikkokushugi o sen su” [A Pronouncement on National Industrialism], in his collection of speeches *Inukai Bokudō Shi daizenzetsushū*, 46–63.

³⁴ Sutton, *Political Biography of Inukai*, *passim*; Koyama, “Seitō seijika no shikō yōshiki,” 207–15.

³⁵ Oka, *Kindai Nihon no seijika*, 149–53.

³⁶ Hara’s views regarding the strategy of a union of parties can be found scattered through his diary. A good example of his distrust of this policy is in *Hara Kei nikki* [Diary of Hara] (9 vols., Tokyo, 1951), IV, 163.

³⁷ Within the framework of the Meiji Constitution two sets of representatives could be defended legally: the Genro representing the Emperor, and the lower house in the Diet representing the public. Ōi Kentarō, a liberal party leader in the 1880’s, for example, made the following statement (*Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, No. 503 [Feb. 1909], 27): “In a country ruled by emperor and people, the ministers of the throne [Genro, oligarchs] represent the imperial will; Diet men represent the people’s will.” While Inukai and others could argue that the imperial and popular will were one and the same, it made equally as much sense to maintain the division of the two as did Ōi and most exponents of “transcendental government.”

nants of decision making in the political order.³⁸ As men close to Inukai (for example, Ōkuma, Inukai's former mentor and once a leading exponent of "union of parties")³⁹ veered toward this pragmatic approach to party politics, Inukai also readjusted his political program to accommodate this tendency.

Inukai's adjusted program of action clearly demonstrates his commitment to ethics on the one hand and to party politics on the other. He insisted that the preservation of a consistent ethical standard must be given higher priority, quite aside from its concrete strategic value, because the public would continue to insist on commitment by party men to an ethical ideal. To implement this idea he and some close friends launched a campaign in 1913 to organize a National Youth Association (with a journal, *Youth*) that would give expression to "healthy" political thought among young Japanese. At the same time, and with a similar set of aims, he coordinated "Inukai Clubs" organized spontaneously by university students and men of the press in major cities (there were also branches in San Francisco, Seattle, Spokane, and Vancouver) into a "national" association.⁴⁰ And he made speeches and wrote articles urging continuing faith in the humane ethical precepts bequeathed by history. All these activities were aimed at projecting an image of firmness in his commitment to good government.

Yet, while maintaining this image of idealism, he adhered to his belief that working within the legal structure was essential for orderly development, and his activities within that structure were, in fact, not consonant with the idealistic image he projected. After 1912 he redirected his strategy from establishing popular unions to capturing the already powerful Seiyukai of Hara and making it his organization. Inukai skillfully concealed his new direction from the public, but the basic factors involved are clear.

Observers of the Japanese political scene after 1905 were aware of the dramatic emergence of the Seiyukai as a powerful organization.⁴¹ Some viewed this development with dismay and others with hope. Men with whom Inukai had established ties, such as the Satsuma faction, saw it as an opportunity and now turned to that party to restore their influence. Others, such as dissidents in Inukai's party (the so-called "reform faction"), turned against

³⁸ This is a major theme that runs through Hara's diary. A good example is his comment of December 23, 1917, to Gotō Shimpei (*Hara Kei nikki*, VII, 300) that the future of Japan would not be determined by arguments over theory but by the ability of parties to gain power. His essays for the newspaper *Ōsaka mainichi* (compiled in *Hara zenshū* [Collected Works], ed. Tanaka Asakichi [2 vols., Tokyo, 1929], I) also reflect this view.

³⁹ In publicly announcing his support of Katsura's Dōshikai, Ōkuma said of his protégé: "Inukai will howl like a wolf. . . . But after the storm has died down, there will be clear weather. . . . Inukai will join us." (*Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, II, 177.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 146–52; see also *Inukai shokanshū*, ed. Washio, *passim*. These "Inukai Clubs" were organized as part of the Movement for Constitutional Government during the Taishō Political Crisis of 1912–1913.

⁴¹ I have treated this subject at some length in *Hara Kei*.

the Seiyukai, joining with Katsura Tarō (a leading figure in the Chōshū faction), with hopes of countering the growth of that party. In the complicated realignment, Inukai first negotiated with Hara to abort the plans of the dissident faction in his party; when this failed, he aimed at taking over the Seiyukai organization itself. Underlying these intrigues was the realistic assessment that Hara would actually achieve the goal of party government for Japan. Inukai, therefore, felt that the position of the Seiyukai should be strengthened, not challenged prematurely by another party. The choice as he saw it was to support either the Seiyukai or the Chōshū faction, which was ensconced in key political institutions. He considered neither of these choices ideal, but he felt that one was more desirable than the other, one a "small evil," the other a "great evil."⁴²

Convinced, then, that if the Seiyukai were given sufficient room for action it would establish party government, Inukai began to see the future of party developments in terms of a division of labor between himself and Hara. Hara would build the organization for the realization of party government, in Inukai's view the simpler task.⁴³ For himself, he reserved what he believed to be infinitely more complex: giving ethical relevance to Hara's achievements. He would, therefore, not obstruct Hara's plans to build a powerful organization; he would, however, maintain an image of ethical consistency and, in a moment of crisis, capture the Seiyukai from within and transform it into an organization of "healthy" men.⁴⁴

With historical hindsight we can see how incredibly naïve Inukai's strategy was, but at the same time we must bear in mind that this approach was consistent with his Confucian view of politics. He believed he could transform men of the Seiyukai into ethical politicians because he considered their "basic principles" practically identical with his⁴⁵ and because party men were, by definition, either "healthy" or potentially "healthy." It was with genuine optimism that he felt he could disseminate his ideals among them: "with each day," he wrote in the spring of 1914, "my arguments spread among the healthy members of the Seiyukai."⁴⁶

⁴² See Inukai, "Kensei no hatan to gotō no kakugo" [The Failure of Constitutional Government and the Resolve of Our Party], *Inukai Bokudō shi daienzetsushū*, 329-37; see also Oka, *Kindai Nihon no seijika*, 168.

⁴³ When Hara became Prime Minister in 1918, Inukai was convinced that party government had been established. "At last," he wrote with a feeling of relief, "the militarists and the bureaucrats have been defeated. At last, the parties alone have seized power." (Quoted in Koyama, "Seitō seijika no shikō yōshiki," 240.)

⁴⁴ This strategy was clearly evident during the Taishō Political Crisis when he tried to manipulate the political situation to force Hara and the Seiyukai to come to him for a "union" in the event of an election controlled by Katsura, which he believed was certain to occur. Under circumstances such as these, he believed he could preserve his commitment to political ideals and at the same time satisfy his personal ambitions. (*Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, II, 1-176.)

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 135-36.

⁴⁶ Inukai to Kohashi Sozōei, Apr. 17, 1914, in *Inukai shokanshū*, ed. Washio, 153; see also Utsumi Nobuyuki, *Kōjin Inukai Bokudō* [Biography of Inukai] (Tokyo, 1938), 170-76.

The task for Inukai, then, was no longer the establishment of party government; it was to make party government endure by fusing the idealism of his small party with the structural might of the Seiyukai. This was his new definition of the "union of people's parties." Obviously there was much ambitious political realism in this line of reasoning, but Inukai was convinced that unless he accomplished this aim, the parties would not survive, for the very organization that made the men of the Seiyukai powerful had also corrupted them in the eyes of the public. In short, despite their size, the parties were in fact fragile structures. Inukai expressed these fears in the following manner: "Granted we have only thirty men. But look at the Seiyukai through the eyes of the critical intellectual class. . . . Its strength depends simply upon gaining governmental positions. I say, can this party last? It will not survive a drastic change in the political situation. . . ." ⁴⁷ There is a prophetic ring to Inukai's words. For if the parties represented narrow economic and political interests, and if they failed to integrate the thoughts and feelings of broad segments of the public, then most certainly they would not survive a severe political crisis. His recognition of this weakness in the parties led him at one point, in 1918, to the brink of rejecting the structure of party government itself. He pondered the idea of supporting a charismatic leader standing above structures to establish "righteous politics": "It does not matter who will do this. . . . It can be someone from the parties, from the ruling cliques, from the military. If there is someone who has the ability to establish righteous politics . . . it does not matter who he is, we will back him. . . ." ⁴⁸ In his more optimistic moments he still held on to the slim chance that his own small group of healthy idealists would somehow be transformed into a massive popular party. He supported manhood suffrage into the early 1920's, in part because of this hope. But, despite this support, his group in 1924 still numbered only thirty members, and his plan to act as the corrective to "party evils" did not materialize.

Inukai's ambiguous positions explain why he could not influence power relationships and help shape the course of political developments. Believing that the pragmatic structuring of parties was "evil," he nonetheless recognized its effectiveness, even crediting the establishment of party government to this approach. He knew, moreover, that without power he could not attain his goal of curtailing military expenses and channeling the nation's strength toward total industrialization. Yet he could not compete in this effort without sacrificing his links with certain traditional ethical ideals that he was convinced still prevailed in society. He could not, in short,

⁴⁷ Inukai to Kohashi, Apr. 20, 1919, in *Inukai shokanshū*, ed. Washio, 301.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Oka, *Kindai Nihon no seijika*, 176.

maintain a posture of "righteous politics" and at the same time build a national party. But while ostensibly satisfied with a small party of thirty "healthy" men, his lifelong ambition was to become a leader of a strong national party. Thus, while he gave some consideration to the notion of a leader above structures transforming the system, and while he still hoped that his party would suddenly burgeon into a national organization, he invariably veered toward the one course still open to him: merger with the Seiyukai.

Once within that party, he wrote in the spring of 1914, "the stage will be ours. Until then, there are only preparatory maneuvers to make. . . ."⁴⁹ Indeed, the last years of Inukai's political career consisted of just that: a series of "preparatory maneuvers." He prepared his little band of idealists for the right moment. Sensing, for example, that major political realignments would take place because of Hara's assassination (November 4, 1921), he planned immediately after Hara's death to bring about the merger of his group and the Seiyukai. He explained to his supporters that the time was drawing near to make the decisive move; he therefore proposed to dissolve his *Kokumintō* (national people's party) and rename it the *Kakushin Kurabu* (reform club). He assured the public that the ideals of the new organization would remain the same: only the name would be changed, implying that the chances of his joining the Seiyukai would be enhanced if his group were a "club" and not a "party."⁵⁰ In May 1925, with the "preparatory maneuvers" completed, the merger took place with Inukai's group becoming the "reform" wing of the Seiyukai. It is ironic that Inukai, who had denied the importance of money in building a "popular party," defended his merger with the Seiyukai with the argument that "money is necessary to run a party"⁵¹—something the Seiyukai had that he lacked. And almost simultaneously he predicted that he would need only one year to effect the fundamental transformation of the Seiyukai into a "people's party" and turn party politics in general in a "healthy direction."⁵²

That Inukai failed to transform the Seiyukai need not be emphasized. In 1930 he admitted that it was as corrupt as ever, governed by considerations of economic gain and power. And it is not difficult to see why he could not persuade party men to change their ways. His Confucian ideals of ethical harmony among the people could not be related to the practical needs of party men deeply involved in competitive struggles between rival

⁴⁹ Inukai to Kohashi, Apr. 17, 1914, in *Inukai shokanshū*, ed. Washio, 153.

⁵⁰ See his letters, *ibid.*, 364–431.

⁵¹ *Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, III, 575–86.

⁵² Inukai to Nishida Fukusaburō, July 13, 1925, in *Inukai shokanshū*, ed. Washio, 418–19.

parties. And having disassociated himself from the problems of building a national party, his political ties with the rank and file—the potentially “healthy”—were as weak and tenuous as were his ethical ties with the militarists who stood for sincerity, purity, and the sword, and who assassinated him in 1932, viewing him, ironically, as a symbol of party evils.⁵³ At best, he could offer party men spiritual solace but not political security. Still, most party men were influenced by Inukai. Even Hara, the pragmatist par excellence, spoke generously of Inukai’s influences. “Although Inukai’s party is small and politically ineffective,” Hara noted in his diary, “there is a strange tendency for the public to respond almost blindly to his idealistic arguments. Inukai’s group most certainly must not be ignored. . . .”⁵⁴ And it was not an idle boast on Inukai’s part when he said: “I acknowledge the existence of a substantial group of supporters in the rank and file [of rival parties].”⁵⁵ In short, while many party men could not agree with the specific ideals and strategies Inukai advocated, they were keenly sensitive to his general argument that the growth of party power had to be given ethical legitimacy vis-à-vis the public, especially in the sense of legitimizing party politics as a positive good for the future of the entire country, and hence morally defensible. Not having ideas and metaphors of greater efficacy than those of Inukai, however, they relied on him as a symbol of “righteous politics.” Thus the men of the Seiyukai finally (in October 1929) elevated the seventy-five-year-old Inukai to the presidency of their party and used him as a symbol of party harmony; three years later he was called upon as Prime Minister (his only ministry) to unify the country and restrain the impulsive militarists.⁵⁶

⁵³ The details of Inukai’s assassination on May 15, 1932, are well known in Japan. His last moments epitomized the calm, stoic traits he prized. He met his assassins at the front door and invited them into the house saying: “You can shoot me any time. Let’s go in and talk things over.” Inside, he looked at his assassins unflinchingly and asked them if they would not at least take off their shoes. As he reached to light his cigaret, one of his assassins shouted: “Further talk is useless [*mondō muyō*]!” And Inukai was shot several times. When his maid rushed into the room, Inukai allegedly motioned to have his cigaret lit and repeated the words: “Call those youngsters back once more. I will explain to them. . . .” To his son, Ken, he calmly said: “They shot from around there, so even a bad shot could not have missed. . . .” He lapsed into a coma and died six hours later. (The details based on statements by the maid, Inukai’s son, and the assassins themselves are related in Oka, *Kindai Nihon no seijika*, 192–96.)

⁵⁴ Hara, *Hara Kei nikki*, VII, 26. Other evidences of this are responses by the rank and file of his party and the Seiyukai during the Taishō Political Crisis or following his denunciation of Prime Minister Terauchi Masataka in November 1916. (*Inukai Bokudō den*, ed. Washio, II, 341–50.) The comments of the well-known critic Miyake Setsurei also attest to his influences. (*Ibid.*, 514–19.)

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 172–73.

⁵⁶ Inukai had a threefold plan to deal with the militarists: use his friend from Satsuma, General Uehara Yūsaku, to restore order in the army; send special envoys to Chiang Kai-shek to work out a peaceful settlement; have the Emperor issue a decree denouncing the activities of the radical militarists. Inukai was killed before he could carry out any of these proposals. It is interesting that he did not include in his plan a systematic attempt to rally the potentially “healthy” rank and file of the parties against the militarists on behalf of civilian party government. (See Koyama, “Seitō seijika no shikō yōshiki,” 245–47.)

Despite the symbolic role he played as idealist, by the end of his career he had become an ambivalent mixture of idealism and pragmatism, which sustained him through many lean years, but directed his strategy in ambiguous channels that frustrated his ambitions of becoming a powerful leader. That ambivalence brings into sharp relief the exacerbation between activities of parties as modern instruments of power and the disparate field of ethical action nurtured by indigenous tradition.

Inukai's dilemma is as real today as it was then. How does a party politician explain to the broad public, especially the educated and politically involved segments of it, the deceptively simple truism that politics is power and that the framework of party government for the pursuit of power is valid and perhaps desirable in a modern society? How does he articulate this in a convincing way to a society that has had a strong integrative political tradition, but that, in contrast to some well-known "whig" societies, has had no representative institutions in its past, and that, above all, tends strongly to view politics in ethical rather than political terms, as Inukai quite correctly perceived? How does he adjust to that ethical milieu and remain at the same time politically ambitious in the pragmatic sense, as Inukai most certainly did? Or, to turn this last question around, how does he function as a pragmatic politician and still retain an image of ethical integrity, which even Inukai could not do toward the end of his life? It is these questions emerging from Inukai's career that make him an important figure in modern Japanese political development. For although his ideals and strategies were surely anachronistic and ambiguous, his recognition of the incompatibility of partisan politics and popular ethical assumptions was neither anachronistic nor ambiguous. In his insistence that ultimately the survival of parties in Japan would depend less on organization and more on their ethical relevance we find one of the key dilemmas of party leaders that must be taken into account in assessing the rise and decline of parties in pre-World War II Japan.

Political Leadership in the German *Reichstag*, 1871-1918

JAMES J. SHEEHAN

IN the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, two developments transformed the relationship between the state and society in Europe. The first was a deepening of the state's penetration into social and economic life. There has been relatively little research on the causes and dynamics of this expansion of the state's functions.¹ It seems clear, however, that as European society became increasingly complex, the state absorbed functions once performed by nongovernmental institutions and at the same time assumed new responsibilities for the regulation of social action and the distribution of social resources.² Closely tied to this process was the second development: the steady growth of the population's involvement in the political system. The clearest expression of this was the cluster of suffrage reforms that extended the franchise in a number of states prior to the First World War.³ But behind this change in the suffrage were more fundamental changes in the individual's relationship to his government; compulsory public education, military conscription, and the emergence of a popular press were just a few of the means through which the political

► Mr. Sheehan, an associate professor at Northwestern University, received his Ph.D. in 1964 from the University of California, Berkeley, where he worked under Carl Schorske. The author of *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966), he is interested in nineteenth-century German social and political history. He read an earlier version of this paper at the December 1967 meeting of the American Historical Association, Toronto, Canada.

¹ Although there is much excellent work on the emergence of the Prussian bureaucracy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there is rather little research on the expansion of the government after 1850. Some useful information on the growth of the imperial administration can be found in Rudolf Morsey, *Die oberste Reichsverwaltung unter Bismarck, 1867-1890* (Münster, 1957). Some of the most interesting new work on this general subject has been concerned with nineteenth-century Britain. For a review of this literature, see Valerie Cromwell, "Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century Administration: An Analysis," *Victorian Studies*, IX (Mar. 1966), 245-55.

² The clearest indication of this is the growth of the civil service in Europe. See the very tentative data given in Herman Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government* (rev. ed., New York, 1949), 710-11. Also useful for an introduction to the problem is Eugene Newton Anderson and Pauline Safford Anderson, *Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), 167 ff.

³ On the general problem of political participation, see Stein Rokkan, "The Comparative Study of Political Participation: Notes towards a Perspective on Current Research," in *Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics*, ed. Austin Ranney (Urbana, Ill., 1962), 47-90. On page 75 there is a useful summary of suffrage reforms in Europe; see also Anderson and Anderson, *Political Institutions*, 307 ff.

process acquired a new immediacy. Thus, as voters, pupils, recruits, and newspaper readers, Europeans in the late nineteenth century found their interests and allegiances being directed toward the state.

The twofold expansion of what has been called the "magnitude of politics" provides the setting for the problems to be considered in this essay.⁴ We will be concerned here with the effects of the changing state-society relationship on the imperial German *Reichstag*. More specifically we will examine the alterations produced by the growth of political participation on the social composition and political style of the *Reichstag* membership. We will then suggest the implications of these alterations for the character and quality of parliamentary leadership during the Second Empire. In order to put our problem into proper perspective, however, a few words are necessary about the German parliamentary elite in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

Until the century's last decades, the membership of representative institutions in the German states, like the membership of parliaments throughout Europe, was largely drawn from a small group of men who had enough time and money to serve without guaranteed compensation and enough social status to be elected without extensive campaigning. A recent student of British politics has called these men "social leaders."⁵ In the German context it is perhaps more appropriate to call them *Honoratioren*, a term that was given its most influential formulation by Max Weber. *Honoratioren* were amateurs, who could afford to hold political office without financial reward, and they were notables, whose social status was not defined by their political role. Although they might use politics to advance their economic interests or reinforce their social position, their wealth and status were primarily the causes, not the rewards, of political prominence. As Weber put it: they lived "for politics," not "off politics."⁶

In Germany, as in the rest of Europe, the power of the *Honoratioren* depended on the existence of a community that recognized them as its "natural leaders." In some regions this community was a small group of

⁴ Joseph LaPalombara defines the "magnitude of politics" as "the ratio of political activity, however institutionalized, to all of the other activity that takes place in society." (See the introduction to *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, ed. Joseph LaPalombara [Princeton, N.J., 1963], 42-43.)

⁵ John Michael Lee, *Social Leaders and Public Persons: A Study of County Government in Cheshire since 1888* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), 5.

⁶ Max Weber's definition of *Honoratioren* is given in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, tr. Talcott Parsons and A. M. Henderson, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York, 1947), 413-14. Parsons defined the term as designating "persons performing functions and exercising authority who do not depend on the position as a major source of income and generally enjoy an independent status in the social structure." (*Ibid.*, 384, n. 57.) The famous distinction between living "for" or "off" politics is made in "Politics as a Vocation," reprinted in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and tr. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1958), 84-85.

like-minded men whose monopoly over political power was guaranteed by the narrowness of the suffrage and reaffirmed by the low level of political consciousness in the population as a whole. Elsewhere the community might be held together with the deference evoked by a traditional elite, such as existed in those parts of Europe where voting was "a kind of acquiescence in the social ascendancy of the nobility rather than a vote of opinion."⁷ At times, of course, deference was extracted with bribes or threats; at times it was generated by religious or regional loyalties.

At least two considerations make generalizing about the *Honoratioren* in preimperial Germany difficult: the constitutional setting of politics varied widely both among and within the German states; and the social setting was almost equally diverse, a fact of great consequence since the parliamentary elite tended to conform so closely to the contours of the local social structure and was rarely distinct from the local economic, religious, and honorific hierarchies. The German *Honoratioren*, therefore, were a somewhat heterogeneous group in which landowners, clergymen, and bureaucrats were especially prominent. In some cities, where the sociopolitical elite was less well defined than in rural regions and where political life was sometimes more mature, political leadership might be provided by lawyers, businessmen, physicians, or journalists. Generally speaking, however, the occupations of the *Honoratioren* tended to combine a secure place in local society with some link—political, religious, commercial, or symbolic—with a supralocal institution. In southwestern Germany after 1815 and in Prussia after 1848, the parliamentary prominence of bureaucrats indicates the degree to which their position offered a particularly successful blend of local prestige and supralocal connections.⁸

The political style of the *Honoratioren* was in part shaped by the fact

⁷ This is how Laurence Wylie described traditional political action in *Chanzaux: A Village in Anjou*, ed. Laurence Wylie (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 259. The concept of the "deference community" has been given considerable emphasis in the work of D. C. Moore on nineteenth-century England. (See, e.g., his excellent article "Social Structure, Political Structure, and Public Opinion in Mid-Victorian England," in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark*, ed. Robert Robson [London, 1967], 20-57; see esp. Moore's definition of the concept on page 36.)

⁸ On the parliamentary role of bureaucrats in Baden before 1848, see Wolfram Fischer, "Staat und Gesellschaft Badens im Vormärz," in *Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz 1815-1848*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart, 1962), 146 ff. For the bureaucrats in the Parliaments of 1848, see Gerhard Schillert, *Sieg und Niederlage des demokratischen Wahlrechts in der deutschen Revolution 1848/49* (Berlin, 1952), 401 ff.; and Reinhart Koselleck, *Preussen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung von 1791 bis 1848* (Stuttgart, 1967), 393-97. For an account of bureaucrats in the Prussian Landtag, see Adalbert Hess, *Das Parlament das Bismarck widerstrebt: Zur Politik und sozialen Zusammensetzung des preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses der Konfliktzeit (1862-1866)* (Cologne, 1964), 65 ff., 73-114. I have not attempted to discuss the officials' motivations for seeking office; nor have I tried to suggest the important distinctions that must be made when dealing with the bureaucratic establishment. On these points, see John Gillis, "The Prussian Bureaucracy, 1840-1860," doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1965.

that their legitimacy as parliamentary leaders rested on what Karl Mannheim called the "borrowed prestige" of a bureaucratic post or on membership in a traditional status hierarchy. Many of them felt that it was neither necessary nor proper to seek office actively. Often the lack of competition for parliamentary mandates made it possible for a candidate to arrange his election through an informal gathering of other notables, or perhaps simply by making it known that if elected he would consent to serve. The corporate and unequal suffrage arrangements for many local and state representative assemblies also helped to preserve the elitist character of politics by discouraging popular participation. In one Prussian *Kreistag*, for example, 163 estate owners had 163 votes, a city with a population of 10,000 had 1 vote, and 62,000 peasants had 3 votes.⁹ Public and indirect voting had similar consequences. Frequently the voters would choose electors (*Wahlmänner*) whose political position was unclear and who were not committed to any particular candidate. When these electors met to select a representative they were subject to considerable pressure from the most powerful and prestigious individuals among them. Obviously such a system favored locally important notables and also tended to personalize and depoliticize the electoral process.¹⁰

Just as many *Honoratioren* did not view themselves as the mobilizers of popular support, so many did not feel that they were the representatives of their electorate. They maintained, instead, that they stood only for their individual vision of what was best for the nation as a whole. Sociologically, this image was connected to the prominence of bureaucrats as members of preimperial Parliaments since officials traditionally, and often disingenuously, regarded themselves as members of a "universal estate" that stood above the conflict of special interests in society and expressed the common good. In theory at least, the state sanctioned this conception of the parliamentarian, which was prescribed in both the Prussian (Article 83) and imperial (Article 29) Constitutions.¹¹ This self-image of the parliamentarian's function clearly made the *Honoratioren* suspicious of any organizational ties that might involve obligations to certain groups and thereby inhibit freedom of thought and action. Since there was usually no need for organized political activity

⁹ This example is from Heinrich Heffter, *Die deutsche Selbstverwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert: Geschichte der Ideen und Institutionen* (Stuttgart, 1950), 131.

¹⁰ For an example of the effects of indirect suffrage, see Renate Kaiser, *Die politischen Strömungen in den Kreisen Bonn und Rheinbach 1848-1878* (Bonn, 1963), 117-18; see also Schillfert, *Sieg und Niederlage*, 76, 88-89. A good example of the *Honoratioren* attitude toward indirect voting can be seen in Heinrich von Sybel's debate with Bismarck on this subject described in Julius Hatschek, *Das Parlamentsrecht des Deutschen Reiches, im Auftrage des Deutschen Reichstages* (Berlin, 1915), 272.

¹¹ *Dokumente zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. Ernst Rudolf Huber (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1961-64), I, 410; II, 295.

to generate mass support, they were able to hold these ties to a minimum.¹²

Although during the Revolution of 1848 and the Prussian constitutional conflict the basis of the *Honoratioren's* influence in some regions was altered or destroyed, they continued to set the tone for German political life throughout the first two-thirds of the century. Until the 1870's, and in some areas for several decades thereafter, political awareness was usually low, and the impulse to deference remained strong. As long as the electorate was better attuned to the role of subject than to that of actor in public affairs, membership in an established elite continued to seem the most reliable indication of political leadership. In fact, the often noted weakness of the liberal opposition in the years after 1848 seems at least in part to have been the product of contradictions rooted in the very nature of the *Honoratioren* as a sociopolitical type. Thus the liberals' ambivalence toward authority suggested the dilemma of men who seek to change a system within which they themselves are often firmly embedded. Their uncertainty about democratic political action, either as a tactic or a goal, similarly reflected the insecurity of men who frequently based their claim to political authority on traditional claims for deference rather than on their agitational skills.¹³

In the years immediately following the *Reichsgründung*, the political transformations of 1866-1871 did not seem to endanger the *Honoratioren's* hold on parliamentary life.¹⁴ It gradually became clear, however, that a

¹² On the question of organization and style of politics, see the admirable work by Thomas Nipperdey, *Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien vor 1918* (Düsseldorf, 1961). For an example of the *Honoratioren* style in operation, see Ludolf Parisius, *Leopold Freiherr von Hoverbeck* (2 vols. in 3 pts., Berlin, 1897-1900), I, 113-14, 149; II, pt. 2, 224.

¹³ For a somewhat different but clearly related analysis of the sources of liberal weakness, see Hess, *Parlament das Bismarck widerstrebte*; and Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Boston, 1957).

¹⁴ In the North German Reichstag of 1867, for example, estate owners (93) and officials (108) were a clear majority. (See Helmut Böhme, *Deutschlands Weg zur Grossmacht* [Cologne, 1966], 263, n. 304. On the first imperial Reichstag, see Gerhard Stoltenberg, *Der Deutsche Reichstag, 1871-1873* [Düsseldorf, 1955], 21 ff.) The following works provide useful data on the occupational make-up of the Reichstage in the imperial era: Adolf Borell, *Die soziologische Gliederung des Reichsparlaments* (Giessen, 1933); Willy Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau der Parteien des deutschen Reichstages von 1871-1918* (Emsdetten, 1934); and Louis Rosenbaum, *Beruf und Herkunft der Abgeordneten zu den deutschen und preussischen Parlamenten, 1847-1919: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Parlaments* (Frankfurt, 1923). A convenient list of all members of the Reichstage can be found in Max Schwarz, *MdR: Biographisches Handbuch der Reichstage* (Hanover, 1965). Unfortunately these authors do not make clear the criteria used to put individuals in various occupational categories. There is, of course, a lack of agreement on the precise content of the various Parliaments. For a cogent statement on the problems involved in establishing the occupations of the parliamentarians, see Lenore O'Boyle, "Liberal Political Leadership in Germany, 1867-1884," *Journal of Modern History*, XXVIII (Dec. 1956), 338-40. Peter Molt's *Der Reichstag vor der improvisierten Revolution* (Cologne, 1963) is an ambitious and at times sophisticated study of parliamentary leadership in the last imperial Reichstage. The usefulness of Molt's work is somewhat diminished by a number of careless generalizations and some badly designed statistical presentations, but it remains a stimulating and suggestive contribution to the problem.

number of developments in the new *Reich* threatened the sociopolitical patterns that had shaped the social composition and character of the pre-imperial parliamentary elite.

The most obvious of these developments was the creation of an imperial *Reichstag* elected through universal, equal, direct, and secret manhood suffrage. Bismarck introduced this revolutionary suffrage because he was convinced that it would enable the forces of order to mobilize the essentially conservative masses of the German people. As he put it, "Here in Prussia, if I could send 100 laborers from an estate to the polls, I would be able to overwhelm every other opinion in the village."¹⁵ What Bismarck overlooked, of course, was the fact that the social world of estates and villages was giving way to other social settings in which traditional deference was a far less effective means of political control. In the years after 1871 what Karl Deutsch calls "the major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments" were eroded or broken.¹⁶ As this occurred, new political organizations developed that replaced with new sources of allegiance and collective action the values and institutions disrupted by socioeconomic development. One of the results of this process was a fundamental alteration in the nature of German politics, as evidenced by the sharply ascending curve of electoral participation, the growth of political parties and interest groups, and the spiraling cost and intensity of election campaigns.¹⁷

The content of parliamentary activity changed at the same time that its style and organizational basis were being transformed. In the years after the formation of the *Reich*, economic and social issues became the chief subject of political conflict. Since an analysis of this development would take us far outside the scope of the present essay, we must be content with pointing out a few of its most salient causes: the constitutional position of the *Reichstag* tended to inhibit its involvement in foreign political and constitutional matters, but left it fairly influential over economic and social issues; Bismarck actively encouraged parliamentary concern with economic affairs by attempting to divert political discontent into more malleable questions of economic interest; most important, the growth in the

¹⁵ As quoted in Walter Gagel, *Die Wahlrechtsfrage in der Geschichte der deutschen liberalen Parteien, 1848-1918* (Düsseldorf, 1958), 27, n. 4; see also Richard Augst, *Bismarcks Stellung zum parlamentarischen Wahlrecht* (Leipzig, 1917).

¹⁶ Karl W. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *American Political Science Review*, LV (Sept. 1961), 494.

¹⁷ Even at the height of the Prussian constitutional conflict in 1862 only 34.3 per cent of those eligible voted. In the *Reichstag* elections participation increased from 50.7 per cent in 1871 to 84.5 per cent in 1912. The absolute increase was equally impressive: from 4,130,000 to 12,200,000. The best general account of the changing character of political organization is in Nipperdey, *Organisation der deutschen Parteien*. For an estimate of campaign costs, see Jürgen Bertram, *Die Wahlen zum deutschen Reichstag vom Jahre 1912* (Düsseldorf, 1964), 190 ff.

state's intervention in economic life, especially evident as a result of the depression of 1873-1896, created the need for various social groups to influence the direction of this intervention.¹⁸

The impact of these changes in the style and content of political life on the *Reichstag* membership is reflected in the fate of landed elites as parliamentary representatives. Since the beginning of parliamentary life in Germany, the owners of so-called knights' estates (*Rittergutsbesitzer*) had been prominent among the *Honoratioren*; their importance continued throughout the seventies and eighties. In 1871, for example, over one-fifth of the seats were occupied by estate owners who dominated the Conservative, Free Conservative, and Polish delegations and were influential in the Center party and, to a lesser degree, among the National Liberals. After the turn of the century, however, their position deteriorated as the Poles, Catholics, and Liberals turned elsewhere for leadership. Only in the Conservative party did landed elites preserve anything like their former pre-eminence.¹⁹ The persistence of *Rittergutsbesitzer* among the Conservatives can be explained in part by the endurance of traditional social patterns in their strongholds east of the Elbe, in part by the active support of the Prussian administration in those areas. But equally important was the ability of Conservative estate owners to come to terms with the mass base and economic content of the new politics. We cannot now examine the extremely complex relationship between the Conservative party and the *Bund der Landwirte*; for our purposes it is sufficient to note that in the *Bund* the Conservatives had access to a highly organized movement that ruthlessly pressed for what it defined as the interests of agrarian Germany.

¹⁸ For a detailed treatment of the impact of the depression on German politics, see Hans Rosenberg, *Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit: Wirtschaftsablauf, Gesellschaft und Politik in Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, 1967), esp. Chap. IV. Bismarck's views on the role of economic interests in politics can be found in *Bismarck und der Staat*, ed. Hans Rothfels (Stuttgart, 1925), 65-66; see also Thomas Nipperdey, "Interessenverbände und Parteien in Deutschland vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, II (Sept. 1961), 262-80; Böhme, *Deutschlands Weg*, 502, 538; Karl W. Hardach, *Die Bedeutung wirtschaftlicher Faktoren bei der Wiedereinführung der Eisen- und Getreidezölle in Deutschland 1879* (Berlin, 1967).

¹⁹ Efforts to tabulate a precise count of estate owners in the *Reichstag* are hampered by the nature of the evidence. It is not always possible, for example, to identify an official who also owns an estate. All of the sources, however, agree on the general trends, which are what concern us here: see Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau*, 79; Stoltenberg, *Deutsche Reichstag* (for 1871), 21 ff.; and Bertram, *Wahlen zum deutschen Reichstag* (for 1903 and 1912), 156 ff. For the estate owners in the Conservative party, see the works cited in note 20, below; for the Center party, see Klaus Müller, "Zentrumspartei und agrarische Bewegung im Rheinland, 1882-1903," in *Spiegel der Geschichte: Festgabe für Max Braubach zum 10. April 1964*, ed. Konrad Repgen and Stephen Skalweit (Münster, 1964), 828-57; for the liberal parties, Hermann Oncken, *Rudolf von Bennigsen, ein deutscher liberaler Politiker* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1910), I, 20. I have not attempted to distinguish between noble and nonnoble estate owners since I felt for my purposes this was not necessary. In any case, the decline of titled individuals in the *Reichstag* was even sharper than that of estate owners: from about 40 per cent in 1871 to 14 per cent in 1912.

Thus, even east of the Elbe the politics of deference had to be reinforced by organization and agitation.²⁰

In the *Reichstag* as a whole, the decline in the number of bureaucrats was even more striking than that of landed elites.²¹ This decline was most obviously due to pressure from the government, which inhibited officials' pursuit of an independent parliamentary career.²² Moreover, just as officials had once been the principal beneficiaries of the *Honoratioren* style, so in the years after 1871 they tended to be the chief casualties when this style began to dissolve. Many bureaucrats proved unwilling or unable to adjust to the new demands of political life in the imperial era. They viewed with antipathy the intrusion of economic issues, since they had disdain for such "special interests" and a financial position that was not seriously threatened by the effects of the depression of 1873. At the same time, the involvement of the masses in political life required a kind of skill and commitment that was antithetical to the training and experience of most officials.²³ It is significant that among the officials, as among the estate owners, those who survived were usually those who could come to terms with the new politics: Conservative rural officials (*Landräte*), who worked with the *Bund der*

²⁰ The best analysis of the relationship between the *Bund der Landwirte* and the Conservative party is Hans-Jürgen Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik und preussischer Konservatismus im wilhelminischen Reich (1893-1914): Ein Beitrag zur Analyse des Nationalismus in Deutschland am Beispiel des Bundes der Landwirte und der Deutsch-Konservativen Partei* (Hanover, 1967). For a stimulating discussion of the evolution of landed elites in the area east of the Elbe, see Hans Rosenberg, "Die Pseudodemokratisierung der Rittergutsbesitzerklasse," in *Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Cologne, 1966), 287-308. The efforts of the British Conservative party to respond to democratizing pressures offer interesting comparisons with its German counterpart. On this problem, see the interesting work done recently by James P. Cornford, esp. "The Transformation of Conservatism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Victorian Studies*, VII (Sept. 1963), 35-66, and "The Parliamentary Foundations of the Hotel Cecil," in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain*, ed. Robson, 268-311.

²¹ The number of officials in the *Reichstag* declined from about 40 per cent in 1871 to less than 20 per cent in 1912. (See Borell, *Soziologische Gliederung*, 60; Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau*, 79-80; and Karl Demeter, "Die soziale Schichtung des Deutschen Parlaments seit 1848: Ein Spiegelbild der Strukturwandlung des Volkes," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXXIX [No. 1, 1952], 9, 13.)

²² Pressures against political opposition in the bureaucracy had been building since 1848. (See Gillis, "Prussian Bureaucracy.") These pressures became fully effective, however, only after Bismarck established his personal authority over the bureaucratic establishment in the seventies. (See Eckart Kehr, "Das soziale System der Reaktion in Preussen unter dem Ministerium Puttkamer," in *Der Primat der Innenpolitik: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur preussisch-deutschen Sozialgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler [Berlin, 1965], 64-86.) For a more general discussion of the problem, see Ernst Fraenkel, "Freiheit und politisches Betätigungsrecht der Beamten in Deutschland und den USA," *Veritas, Iustitia, Libertas: Festschrift zur 200-Jahrfeier der Columbia University, New York* (Berlin, 1953), esp. 87-90.

²³ Rosenberg (*Grosse Depression*, 124 ff.) discusses the bureaucrats' failure to respond to the depression. The difficulty of combining the role of official and agitator is illuminated by Weber's famous statement ("Politics as a Vocation," 95) contrasting the bureaucrat and the politician.

Landwirte, and Catholic judges, who enjoyed the support of the Center party's ancillary organizations.²⁴

Like many bureaucrats, most of the academic community was alienated by the mass base and economic content of imperial parliamentary life.²⁵ For some professors, the demands of politics on their time and energy seemed incompatible with the pursuit of academic distinction; many others were convinced that loyalty to a political party was inconsistent with the search for scholarly knowledge, while a few simply could not find a party to which they could give their allegiance. In the 1890's some of the most progressive academicians seemed to find in Friedrich Naumann's National Social Movement an appropriate vehicle for political action. It is notable, however, that many of these men turned away from Naumann when he joined a party, was elected to the *Reichstag*, and became, as one former admirer put it, a parliamentarian like any other.²⁶ Because of the professors' significance as opinion makers in German society, their disdain for parliamentary politics had considerable importance.

Before considering the social groups that replaced the *Honoratioren* in the *Reichstag*, a few words are necessary about three relatively stable elements in the imperial Parliaments. The first of these was the Catholic clergy. In the course of the nineteenth century a number of priests had been politicized by pressures on the Church from hostile civil authorities. After 1848 the clergy's defense of the Church's interest sometimes led them to become involved in electoral activity, where they were willing to use the pulpit and perhaps even the confessional to support sympathetic candidates. Since the priests themselves often did not accept a mandate, their number in the Parliaments does not accurately suggest the magnitude of their influence. In the *Reichstag* they, nevertheless, occupied a rather constant 4-5 per cent of the seats. As we might expect, after 1890 the clergy's basis of political power tended to shift from prominence on the local level

²⁴ Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau*, 79-80. On the judicial officials in the Center, see Molt, *Reichstag*, 150. *Landräte* declined in the Conservative *Fraktion*, but made up 25.9 per cent and 13 per cent in 1903 and 1912. (Bertram, *Wahlen zum deutschen Reichstag*, 156.) For an example of the *Landrat* as a politician, see Kuno Graf von Westarp, *Konservative Politik im letzten Jahrzehnt des Kaiserreichs* (2 vols., Berlin, 1935), I, 20, 30. It is interesting to note that when forced to make a choice between the *Bund* and the government a number of *Landräte* chose the former. (Hannelore Horn, *Der Kampf um den Bau des Mittellandkanals: Eine politologische Untersuchung über die Rolle eines wirtschaftlichen Interessenverbandes im Preussen Wilhelms II* [Cologne, 1964].)

²⁵ There were sixteen professors in the *Reichstag* of 1871, fourteen in 1887, and only six in 1912. (Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau*, 79.)

²⁶ Karl Alexander von Müller, *Aus Gärten der Vergangenheit: Erinnerungen, 1882-1914* (Stuttgart, 1958), 396. On the relationship of the academic community and Naumann, see James J. Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966); and Dieter Lindenlaub, *Richtungskämpfe im Verein für Sozialpolitik: Wissenschaft und Sozialpolitik im Kaiserreich* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 22-26.

to positions in Catholic political organizations such as the *Volkverein für das katholische Deutschland*.²⁷

The number of lawyers, the second of these elements in the *Reichstag*, fluctuated during the imperial period, but, like the priests, they held roughly the same number of seats at the end of the *Reich* as at the beginning. During the Revolution of 1848 and the years immediately thereafter, members of the legal profession played prominent political roles, especially in the liberal movement. After national unification, however, the total number of lawyers in the *Reichstag* declined as the older generation dropped out of political life. After 1890 the number increased. Politics became more demanding of time and energy, which meant that the practical compatibility of a legal career with a parliamentary role became an important advantage. Also, a number of lawyers gained political influence by supplying necessary legal *expertise* to the expanding political organizations, especially the Social Democratic party.²⁸

In contrast to the lawyers, businessmen, the third relatively stable element, expanded their numbers during the eighties and then declined again after the turn of the century.²⁹ Commercial and industrial elites had not been particularly active in the first *Honoratioren* assemblies, not only because their occupations left little time for national political action, but also because economic pursuits often did not carry the social prestige that was so important in the era of the *Honoratioren*. During the late seventies and eighties, however, the mobilization of economic interests drew a number of businessmen into the political arena. The results of this increase were most clearly felt in the National Liberal party where economic elites either

²⁷ Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau*, 80; Molt, *Reichstag*, 169 ff. For the significance of the clergy, see Müller "Zentrumspartei"; Rudolf Morsey, *Die deutsche Zentrumspartei 1917-1923* (Düsseldorf, 1966); and Emil Ritter, *Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und der Volkverein* (Cologne, 1954).

²⁸ Lawyers held 10 per cent of the *Reichstag* seats in 1871, less than 4 per cent in 1887, and just over 10 per cent in 1912. (Kremer, *Der soziale Aufbau*, 80; Demeter, "Soziale Schichtung," 14-15.) For a perceptive analysis of the lawyers' role in the liberal movement, see Lenore O'Boyle, "The Democratic Left in Germany 1848," *Journal of Modern History*, XXIII (Dec. 1961), 377 ff. Molt (*Reichstag*, 161 ff.) discusses the lawyers in the last *Reichstage*.

²⁹ Borell (*Soziologische Gliederung*, 54) estimates that the number of merchants, industrialists, and manufacturers was 8 per cent in 1871, 17.4 per cent in 1887, and 8.8 per cent in 1912. Using somewhat narrower categories, Demeter ("Soziale Schichtung," 80) computes the figures as 6.5 per cent, 16.9 per cent, and 4.8 per cent. The best statistical analysis of business and politics can be found in Hans Jaeger, *Unternehmer in der deutschen Politik (1890-1918)* (Bonn, 1967), esp. 48, for an interesting comparison of the various estimates of entrepreneurs in the *Reichstag*. For a general discussion of businessmen and politics in the 1870's, see Böhme, *Deutschlands Weg*; Friedrich Zunkel, *Der Rheinisch-westfälische Unternehmer 1834-1879: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Bürgertums im 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1962); and Wolfgang Köllmann, *Sozialgeschichte der Stadt Barmen* (Tübingen, 1960).

absorbed or replaced a number of established political leaders.⁸⁰ The subsequent decline of businessmen in the Wilhelminian period was caused by the expansion of Socialist influence in many urban districts and by the growing tendency of commerce and industry to employ officials of organized interest groups to represent them both within and outside of Parliament.⁸¹

In considering the new social groups that penetrated the parliamentary elite in the years after 1871, it is useful to recall that this penetration took place from two directions. First, within the political parties led by *Honoratioren* there was a distinct if not dramatic tendency toward "democratization," through which men from lower-status backgrounds and occupations gained parliamentary positions. This tendency resulted from the parties' need to attract the votes of large social groups and from the growth of political organizations that to some degree broadened and multiplied the paths to political influence. The precise social content of this "democratization" varied from one party to another. After the turn of the century there was a handful of professional agitators, farmers, and at least one craftsman in the Conservative *Fraktion*, but the main indication of social change was an increase in the number and influence of nonnoble estate owners. "Democratization" was slow and hesitant in the two liberal parties, but by 1912 roughly 10 per cent of their *Fraktionen* was made up of men with lower-status occupations, chiefly farmers and craftsmen. About the same proportion of these groups can be found in the Center *Fraktion* of 1912 (twelve out of ninety-one); after 1907 there were also five trade-unionists among the Center's delegates.⁸²

A second direction from which new social groups could enter the Parliament was provided on the Left and Right of the traditional parties by the new political movements, which usually had leaders from outside of the *Honoratioren*. Of course the most important of these new movements was social democracy, the most effective source of political prominence for men without property or status. Until 1890 the Socialist *Fraktion* was made up of a few educated and propertied members of the *Bürgertum* and a

⁸⁰ Böhme (*Deutschlands Weg*, 260-61) traces the involvement of liberal leaders like Johannes von Miquel and Rudolf von Bennigsen in economic enterprises. Rosenberg (*Grosse Depression*, 134-35) estimates that economic elites increased in the National Liberal delegation from 11.2 per cent in 1874 to 41.5 per cent in 1890. (Cf. O'Boyle, "Liberal Political Leadership," 341.)

⁸¹ Molt, *Reichstag*, 185 ff. It should be noted that economic elites did not decline in many of the state Parliaments. (See the figures cited by Hartmut Kaelble, *Industrielle Interessenpolitik in der Wilhelminischen Gesellschaft: Centralverband Deutscher Industriellen 1895-1914* [Berlin, 1967], 116.)

⁸² See Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik*, 215, n. 10, 274 ff. (on the Conservatives); Morsey, *Deutsche Zentrumsparlei*, 50; and Bertram, *Wahlen zum deutschen Reichstag*, 156 ff. (on the elections of 1903 and 1912). It should be kept in mind that most of the available data concern occupation, not social background.

majority of men from lower-class backgrounds who had achieved some measure of economic independence: in the delegation elected in 1890, for example, these two groups numbered eight and twenty-seven, respectively. After the turn of the century, Socialist deputies increasingly came to be men with positions in the party or trade-union apparatus. This development marked a change in the occupational make-up of the *Fraktion*, but not in the social origins of its members. Throughout the Wilhelminian era three-fourths of the Socialist delegation was composed of individuals from lower- or lower-middle-class backgrounds.³³

Changes in the social composition of the *Reichstag* reflected not only the development of new political organizations, which could provide financial support and political legitimacy for men from outside the established elites, but also the degree to which politics in Germany had become a source for upward social mobility. This was most obviously the case in the Socialist movement, where party and trade-union activity offered unparalleled opportunities for talented and ambitious men from lower economic and status groups.³⁴ To some extent, however, the other parties, albeit more reluctantly, also gave men from less exalted backgrounds a chance for power and prestige. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the men who took the lead in developing and exploiting new political techniques often came from rather humble origins. The energy and inventiveness of these "new men" are not surprising when one considers that for politicians like Friedrich Ebert, Matthias Erzberger, Gustav Stresemann, and Diederich Hahn politics was not a duty or an avocation but a full-time commitment. In contrast to the *Honoratioren*, whose political position flowed from and was often subordinated to another social role, these men saw political success as a source of financial reward, increased social status, and personal self-esteem.

Although the nature of the evidence does not allow the degree of precision one might like, the preceding analysis suggests the broad outline of the changes produced in the social composition of the *Reichstag* by

³³ On the social composition of the Social Democratic *Fraktion*, see the excellent introduction to *Die Reichstagsfraktion der deutschen Sozialdemokratie 1898 bis 1918*, ed. Erich Matthias and Eberhard Pikart (2 vols., Düsseldorf, 1966), esp. lv ff. This gives data on both background and occupation.

³⁴ Robert Michels called the Socialist organization the "anchor of salvation" for talented and ambitious men from the working classes. (Quoted in Pitirim Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility* [Glencoe, Ill., 1959], 173; see also Robert Michels, "Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie: I. Parteimitgliedschaft und soziale Zusammensetzung," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und soziale Politik*, XXIII [1906], 471-556, esp. 526 ff.) There are data on the role of politics for upward social mobility in Josef Nothass, "Social Ascent and Descent in Germany," tr. from *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*, IX (1931), 22; and Wolfgang Zapf, *Wandlungen der deutschen Elite: Ein zirkulationsmodell deutscher Führungsgruppen 1919-1961* (Munich, 1965), 43 ff.

new political styles, issues, and organizations. Rather less obvious are the effects of these developments on the general character and quality of the imperial Parliament. It is these more elusive issues that we must now consider.

Even before the end of the Empire there were observers who maintained that the most significant feature of German political life was its "economization."³⁵ We have already noted some of the sources of this development, which became increasingly manifest in the years after 1890. During the Wilhelmian era both the size and variety of economic interest groups grew so that by 1914 there was hardly a significant sector of society, from factoryworkers to the mediatized nobility (*Standesherrn*), that did not have an association claiming to represent it. At the same time, the most important interest groups became increasingly involved in electoral activity, often by providing direct support to individual candidates (rather than to the parties) who were then obliged to commit themselves to a particular program. This practice was initiated by the *Bund der Landwirte* and was emulated by the industrial organizations. Trade-unions had a rather different relationship to parliamentary politics, but, as we have noted, union officials became more numerous in both the Center and Socialist *Fractionen*.³⁶

Despite the importance of economic issues as a focus for political action and despite the role of associations with special interests in the *Reichstag*, it would be a mistake to overestimate the extent to which the imperial Parliament was dominated by men tied to specific economic interests. Even among the Conservatives, who came the closest to being a pure interest group, there were a few men who wanted to loosen the party's association with the agrarians. For the Socialists the conflict over the proper role of economic interests was part of a much broader struggle over the party's theory and practice. In the Center and the two liberal parties it was absolutely necessary to avoid an exclusively economic orientation since these movements contained deeply antagonistic socioeconomic elements. The leaders of these parties, therefore, had to perform the delicate task of enlisting the support of interest groups without allowing any one group to dominate and thereby shatter the fragile bonds of party unity.³⁷

³⁵ On this point, see the influential article by Emil Lederer, "Das ökonomische Element und die politischen Ideen im modernen Parteiwesen," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, V (No. 4, 1912), 535-57.

³⁶ See Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik*; Morsey, *Deutsche Zentrumspartei*; introd. to *Die Reichstagsfraktion der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, ed. Matthias and Pikart; and Kaelble, *Industrielle Interessenpolitik*.

³⁷ See Morsey, *Deutsche Zentrumspartei*, 44 ff.; and Theodor Eschenburg, *Das Kaiserreich am Scheideweg: Bassermann, Bülow und der Block nach unveröffentlichten Papieren aus dem Nachlass Ernst Bassermanns. Eingeleitet von Gustav Stresemann* (Berlin, 1929), esp. 112 ff.

At the same time that some analysts spoke of "economization," others viewed the direction of change in the *Reichstag* as leading to a "professionalization" of politics. If this term is to be used at all, however, two points must be made. First, "professionalization" cannot be taken to mean that individuals began to earn their living from the compensation paid to elected officials; even after the introduction of a government subsidy for *Reichstag* members in 1906 this was not the case. What did occur was an increase in the number of men who combined a seat in Parliament with other political or quasi-political roles such as party secretary, interest group official, or journalist. Some men (Eugen Richter, for example) had done this since the beginning of the *Reich*; the financial resources of the new political organizations made it much more prevalent. Second, the question must be raised if we should include among the "professionals" men who retained a nonpolitical source of support, but who devoted their energies primarily to politics. The number of these men also increased, although it does not show up on the occupational tables of the *Reichstag* membership. For such individuals the intensification of political activity produced a shift in "role emphasis" rather than "role differentiation."³⁸ They nonetheless "lived off" politics psychologically, if not always financially.

It should also be emphasized that the growing number of professional politicians did not signal a total eradication of the *Honoratioren* style. Thus even in 1912 Count Posadowsky agreed to run for the *Reichstag* on the condition that he remain free of all party ties and that he not be expected to campaign.³⁹ In none of the major parties, moreover, was there an unqualified triumph of the "professional politician." As we have seen, the Conservatives were characterized by a blend of traditional deference politics and modern forms of agitation, a blend that was reflected in the character of the party's parliamentary leadership. In both the Center and the two liberal parties, relations between the old and new styles of leadership were often extremely tense. Erzberger and Stresemann, for example, met considerable distrust from some of their party colleagues, for whom men like Peter Spahn and Ernst Bassermann seemed more acceptable leaders since they represented a less extreme break with *Honoratioren* politics. Even among the Social Democrats, there was an articulate minority that resisted the increasing domination of the movement by party functionaries.⁴⁰

³⁸ This distinction is from J. P. Nettl, *Political Mobilization: A Sociological Analysis of Methods and Concepts* (New York, 1967), 112.

³⁹ Bertram, *Wahlen zum deutschen Reichstag*, 140-41, 152-53. Posadowsky was elected, but he had to make a few token appearances in his district.

⁴⁰ On Erzberger and the Center, see Klaus Epstein, *Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 1959), 38 ff.; on Stresemann, see Annelise Thimme,

When we look closely at the last imperial *Reichstage*, therefore, we are struck not only by the importance of economic interests and an increase in the number of professional politicians but also by the great diversity in both social background and political style. This diversity was equally apparent in the imperial parliamentarians' definitions of their political role, definitions that included *Honoratioren* and agitators, self-conscious amateurs and dedicated professionals, interest representatives and ideologues. The multiformity of role conception was most intense and disruptive in the Center and the liberal parties, but to some extent at least it cut across party lines and became an additional source of cleavage that co-existed with and frequently exacerbated the divisions generated by conflicting interests, ideologies, and party commitments. This conflict over the very nature of the parliamentarian's function helped to further the disunity and fragmentation that were among the *Reichstag's* most distinctive features.⁴¹

Perhaps the meaning of this fragmentation for German parliamentary life can be suggested by comparing the *Reichstag* with two other twentieth-century European parliaments. In the French Chamber of Deputies, for example, one notes a far greater cohesion in the membership. This cohesion was in part the result of the deputies' similar educational background and political experience. It was expressed and reaffirmed by practices within the Chamber itself, such as the use of the second person singular among the deputies.⁴² For better or worse, the Chamber was clearly an institutional manifestation of the "republic of pals," in which the bonds among members frequently proved stronger than other political commitments. As one observer noted: "There is less difference between two deputies, one of whom is a revolutionary and the other not, than between two revolutionaries, one of whom is a deputy and the other not."⁴³ A similar

Gustav Stresemann: Eine politische Biographie zur Geschichte der Weimarer Republik (Hanover, 1957), 18-19. On the leadership in the various parties, see Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik*; Morsey, *Deutsche Zentrumspartei*, esp. 49 ff., 559 ff.; Eschenburg, *Kaiserreich: Von Bassermann zu Stresemann: Die Sitzungen des Nationalliberalen Zentralvorstandes 1912-1917*, ed. Klaus-Peter Reiss (Düsseldorf, 1967).

⁴¹ On this point, see Ernst Fraenkel, "Historische Vorbelastungen des deutschen Parlamentarismus," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, VIII (No. 4, 1960), 333-34.

⁴² See Jean Meynaud, "Introduction: General Study of Parliamentarians," *International Social Science Journal*, XIII (No. 4, 1961), 527. On the social composition of the Chamber, see Mattei Dogan, "Political Ascent in a Class Society: French Deputies, 1870-1958," in *Political Decision Makers*, ed. Dwaine Marvick (Glencoe, Ill., 1961). Between 1898 and 1919 nearly two-thirds of the deputies had a university education (38 per cent lawyers); in the early twentieth century more than two-thirds had held a post in local government before their election to the Chamber. (Dogan, "Political Ascent in a Class Society," 78-79.)

⁴³ Quoted by Meynaud, "Introduction," 527, n. 1, from Robert de Jouvenel's *La République des Camarades* (Paris, 1914).

internal cohesion can be seen in the membership of the House of Commons, which preserved a sense of common identity even in the face of growing social heterogeneity. In part this was due to the persistence of a core of men whose social and familial ties transcended party lines and thus softened the tone of political conflict. Equally important was the Parliament's prestige which instilled in its members a desire to conform to the rules of the "finest club in the land." Conformity and a sense of belonging were also evoked by the carefully tended privileges and rituals of the House. In the words of one militant who was eventually tamed: "The conventions of the House are strong to bind. At first I thought they were nothing more than surface politics. They are not, they are the foundations of the parliamentary system."⁴⁴

Such common bonds were not totally absent from the *Reichstag*, but in comparison to either the Chamber of Deputies or the House of Commons the imperial Parliament was far less successful in generating a sense of common purpose or identity among its members. Even when the need for cooperation grew, distrust and hostility, especially between Socialists and non-Socialists, continued. Throughout the imperial period there are few indications that personal and ideological divisions were transcended by a feeling of common commitment to the Parliament. In this regard it is notable that, in contrast to German bureaucrats and army officers, German parliamentarians were not regarded (and did not regard themselves) as members of a *Stand*, a status group characterized by "the sacred tie of tradition and the undisputed belief in the historically-founded legitimacy of its position."⁴⁵ Without this sacred tie of tradition and with a deep-seated uncertainty about their own legitimacy, imperial parliamentarians did not develop a strong sense of community or collective self-interest.

The implications of this failure for the political system emerge when we consider the role of the *Reichstag* in the early twentieth century. On the one hand, it is clear that the *Reichstag*'s influence over public affairs grew considerably in the decades before 1914; the political mobilization of the population, the strength of the parties and interest groups, the expansion of the imperial government's functions, and the subsequent increase in its budgetary needs helped to strengthen the *Reichstag*'s position. On the other hand, it seems equally clear that there was not a comparable increase

⁴⁴ David Kirkwood, quoted in W. L. Guttsman, *The British Political Elite* (London, 1963), 248. For enlightening comparison of British and German Parliaments, see Gerhard A. Ritter, *Deutscher und Britischer Parlamentarismus: Ein verfassungsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (Tübingen, 1962).

⁴⁵ This definition is from Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1958), 6.

in the Parliament's ability or willingness to assume the political initiative or to view itself as the proper source of political authority. As one contemporary observer put it, the *Reichstag* wanted power over the government, not the power to govern.⁴⁶ This power tended, moreover, to be reactive and negative. It is significant that one of the most important expressions of the *Reichstag*'s growing influence was a revision of parliamentary procedure that allowed a majority to vote its dissatisfaction with a government action. It is also significant that on the two occasions when such a vote was taken—over the issue of the expropriation of Polish landowners and during the Zabern affair—it was ignored by the government, and the Parliament took no further action. Still more striking is the impression one gets from reading the recently published documents of *Der Interfraktionelle Ausschuss*: even when World War I laid bare the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy and the army, the leaders of the *Reichstag* were extremely hesitant to seek or accept responsibility for the future of the *Reich*.⁴⁷

The hesitancy to assume responsibility during the war, like the failure to seize the political initiative before 1914, seems closely related to the *Reichstag*'s lack of a sense of common identity or common purpose. A sense of identity as parliamentarians might have attenuated the suspicions and conflicts that divided the membership of the *Reichstag* and thereby facilitated the growth of a majority stable enough and strong enough to challenge the government.⁴⁸ More important, a sense of common purpose might have encouraged a commitment to the *Reichstag*'s institutional self-interest and thereby encouraged its members to strive for a more creative role for the Parliament within the political system.

On the preceding pages I have shown how the German parliamentary leadership was affected by the growing involvement of the population in the political system. The new political scene created new demands and new

⁴⁶ Georg Jellinek, "Regierung und Parlament in Deutschland," *Vorträge der Gehe-Stiftung*, I (1909), 35. A good brief summary of the role of the Parliament can be found in Eberhard Pikart, "Die Rolle der Parteien im deutschen konstitutionellen System vor 1914," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, IX (No. 1, 1962), 12-32.

⁴⁷ *Der Interfraktionelle Ausschuss 1917-1918*, ed. Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey (2 vols., Düsseldorf, 1959). See the excellent review of these volumes by Klaus Epstein in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXCI (No. 3, 1960), 562-84. The classic statement of the *Reichstag*'s failure to assume responsibility is Max Weber's essay "Parlament und Regierung im neugeordneten Deutschland," reprinted in *Gesammelte politische Schriften* (2d ed., Tübingen, 1958), 294-431. It seems to me, however, that Weber rather overstated the degree to which there was a decline in political talent after the 1870's. The parliamentarians of the later Empire had different but not necessarily fewer talents than their predecessors. As my concluding paragraph suggests, I do not think one can argue that a willingness to assume responsibility decreased (or increased) over the imperial era.

⁴⁸ On this point, see Michael Stürmer, *Koalition und Opposition in der Weimarer Republik, 1924-1928* (Düsseldorf, 1967), 15-26.

opportunities for men from a variety of social backgrounds who began to crowd out the *Honoratioren*. As economic issues became more important, it was increasingly difficult for German parliamentarians to maintain that they somehow represented their own vision of the common good. As political agitation became more intense, the casual approach of local notables gave way to the full-time commitment of professional or semiprofessional politicians. These changes in the social composition and style of political leadership were not, however, accompanied by a sense of common identity among imperial parliamentarians; nor was the growing significance of the *Reichstag* accompanied by an increase in that body's willingness to accept political responsibility. In fact, despite all of the changes we have traced, there is a striking continuity in the political posture of German parliamentarians: the leaders of the last imperial *Reichstag* shared with their predecessors in the *Honoratioren* assemblies an uncertainty about strategy and final goals and a continued reluctance to challenge the administration and the army in their role as the true defenders of the state's sacred destiny. This uncertainty and reluctance encouraged the opponents of political reform, aggravated the directionless character of German politics during the imperial era, and left an unfortunate legacy for the years thereafter.

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Review Note

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TOWARDS A NEW PAST: DISSENTING ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *Barton J. Bernstein*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. xvi, 364. \$6.95.)

THERE appears to be no common thread running through the twelve essays that comprise this disappointing volume. In his introduction, the editor admits that the viewpoints represented include the "Marxist, neo-Beardian, radical, . . . [and] left-liberal" and that as a group these young scholars (all born after 1928) defy precise definition. Three essays, by Marilyn Blatt Young, Lloyd C. Gardner, and Robert Freeman Smith, cover US foreign policy between 1870 and 1942. Two, by the editor, analyze governmental liberalism in the New Deal and Truman eras. The concluding essay is a brilliant dissection of the history of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which Christopher Lasch uses as a case history to examine the role of intellectuals in the cold war. Each of the first six chapters discusses an aspect of social and intellectual history: Jesse Lemisch upgrades the role of the masses in the Revolution; Staughton Lynd synthesizes the theses of Beard and his critics concerning the Constitution; Michael A. Lebowitz contends that a significant proportion of the Jacksonians were groups, affluent as well as poor, who were hurt by the economic changes of the 1830's; Eugene D. Genovese demolishes economic-determinist interpretations of the "Slave South" that have passed for Marxist; James M. McPherson describes the attitude of former abolitionists and their descendants toward the Negro between 1870 and 1910; and Stephan Thernstrom finds that there was downward and horizontal as well as upward social mobility in the late nineteenth century.

These essays vary greatly in their scholarly and literary merit. As to content, I would place the Lasch and Genovese essays at the top of the merit scale and that by Lemisch at the bottom. Space limitation permits discussion only of the latter two, which manifest opposite attitudes toward a crucial problem a New Left historian of social and intellectual history must confront: the nature and extent of the ideological hegemony exercised by ruling classes over the rest of the population.

Lemisch, in insisting that historians should examine the American Revolution "from the bottom up," denounces "consensus" historians for examining only the ruling class. They either let "the opinions of an elite stand for those of a majority" or forget "that . . . [they do] not know what the majority thought." Lemisch asks whether the people did indeed defer to their rulers. His reply consists of some evidence that the rulers were not sure of the deference of their inferiors, and much evidence that the founding fathers favored an elitist society and government. To Lemisch that belief must have been a rationalization for exclusion of the undeferential masses from government and could not have been sincere and part of a legitimate ideology: "Surely the intellectual and empirical ingredi-

ents which produced the thought of a Paine or a Woolman were available to an Adams or a Jefferson. . . . Thus we cannot explain the failure of the Revolution's leaders to choose more democratic and humane ways on the grounds that the ideas' time had not yet come. The ideas were in the marketplace; the leaders' failure to buy them constitutes a choice, even if they did not conceive of it as such."

Lemisch's eagerness to contrast the elitist founding fathers to the democratic masses leads him, in several places, to abandon his own prescription or into *non sequiturs*. John Adams, for instance, is quoted as believing in the universal depravity of the human race, including infants. The author, who urges that history be written from the bottom up, does not ask his sources whether the plebeians shared Adams' theology, or, for that matter, whether Jefferson, whom he elsewhere denounces for racism, shared it. He discusses Adams' undemocratic constitution for Massachusetts, but fails to mention that the voters wanted less religious toleration than Adams did.

Although he rejects history written from the top down, on the ground that the opinions of the elite were atypical, Lemisch fails to show how typical were the undeferential plebeians whom he cites. He doubts that the Boston Tea Party was the work of substantial citizens, for the mob's use of block and tackle and so on "seems more nearly to suggest the skills of the lower class," although he admits that we really do not know who they were. Later he is at pains to demonstrate the "patriotism" of the masses; captured American seamen suffered in British prisons rather than join the Royal Navy. How these facts weaken the elitist and consensus interpretations must be obvious, for Lemisch does not tell us. Finally, although he admits later that we know little about who the loyalists were, he flatly asserts that "Loyalists had very little faith in man and reveled in the inequalities among men," quoting eminent Tories as proof. It may be unkind to ask why loyalists should be characterized solely according to views "from the top." The existence of plebeian loyalists is admitted only in a footnote, and their views on inequality are not mentioned. Many other *non sequiturs* and questionable generalizations must be overlooked here.

Genovese, in his chapter, refuses to assume that objectively irreconcilable class interests automatically caused ideological conflict between masters and slaves, and he recognizes that the ideology of a ruling class is a legitimate reflection of its place in the world, not merely a hypocritical cover for a conspiracy to oppress. It is from this Marxist standpoint that he polemicizes against interpretations of the "Slave South" that purport to be Marxist, but are, rather, economic determinist. Modern Marxist scholars have, according to Genovese, dutifully adopted as fundamental tenets the mechanistic statements and suprahistorical values that can be found in Marx's and Engels' sometimes ambiguous writings. Genovese has presented his alternative interpretation in his book, *The Political Economy of Slavery*, and only the points in this article that conflict with Lemisch's approach to history need be noted here.

One of the major reasons, Genovese explains, why Marxist historians have been unable to develop a Marxian interpretation of the "Slave South" is their passionate hatred of slavery. He does not contend that this is incompatible with historical objectivity; he does believe, however, that these scholars must recognize

that their commitment to a Marxian socialist ethic necessitates a rejection of absolute values. The latter derives from the Marxian tenet that the place of a class in its society generates its world view, including values, but not as a simple reflex of its economic interests; it may in given circumstances run counter to those interests. That ideology, once born, has a semiautonomous life of its own, reacting on the social structure that produced it. The value system of the American slaveowners was as "legitimate" as is that of the historians who abhor slavery: "It is rather hard to assert that class responsibility is the highest test of morality and then to condemn as immoral those who behave responsibly toward their class instead of someone else's. . . . The issue transcends considerations of abstract justice or a desire to be fair to one's enemies; it involves political judgment. If we blind ourselves to everything noble, virtuous, honorable, decent, and selfless in a ruling class, how do we account for its hegemony? The people cannot long be held down by force alone. . . . There is a firm link between the doctrinaire inability of many Marxists to appreciate the positive qualities of the best elements of the slaveholding class, and their common tendency to underestimate the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in our own day by seeing in it merely the deception or corruption of the working class."

Genovese nowhere refers to Lemisch's rejection of history written from the top down, but the conflict between their views is clear. Scholarly concentration on "the hegemonic mechanisms" of a ruling class, far from producing distortion, is essential to an understanding of the acts of the ruled as well as the rulers. To allocate historiographical emphasis according to the relative size or "virtue" of classes, and to deny the validity of the rulers' values because contrary values also existed, is to ensure that historical truth will be inaccessible to those whose very dedication to radical change has motivated such perversions of Marxian insights.

Although no single pattern of interpretation can be discerned throughout the essays in this book, all contain provocative suggestions for further work and insights to be tested. To a radical, the very diversity is welcome, for it is a refreshing contrast to the simplistic, unimaginative, and dogmatic uniformity with which most earlier—and a few modern—antiestablishment historians read the historical record and guaranteed its opacity.

Sir George Williams University

AILEEN S. KRADITOR

* * *

In February 1966 the Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review* asked my opinion about publishing a manuscript by Irwin Unger on historians of the New Left. Recognizing that Unger's essay was carefully researched and exceptionally well written, I objected on the ground that the historians whose work he discussed were not of sufficient consequence to merit extended consideration in the pages of our major professional journal. Though my advice was not taken and Unger's excellent article was published, I remain convinced that my original judgment was sound, and reading *Towards a New Past* has only confirmed that opinion.

There are twelve essays in this volume, eleven of which cover broad topics

from the American Revolution to the cold war. A final irrelevant discussion of the Congress for Cultural Freedom by Christopher Lasch, previously published in the *Nation*, appears to have been introduced as padding. According to the editor, these articles were written by "some of the more exciting young historians" in the country. Modestly, he contributed two of them.

It is hard to evaluate *Towards a New Past* as a synthesis of the New Left position because about half of the essays reflect no special ideological commitment. With varying amounts of literary and substantive revision, these would be entirely acceptable in the most conservative historical journals. Typical is James M. McPherson's carefully researched "The Antislavery Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP," which demonstrates that most of "the old antislavery crusaders and their descendants still alive in the 1870's and 1880's resisted the retreat from Reconstruction" and that many of them later enthusiastically joined the NAACP. Similarly, in "Beyond Beard," Staughton Lynd joins consensus historians like Robert E. Brown in characterizing the movement for the Constitution as, "not the triumph of capitalism over a landed aristocracy . . . , but a compromise or coalition between men of wealth in the cities and men of wealth on the land."

Less satisfactory, though equally nonideological, is Stephan Thernstrom's "Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America," which largely reinforces the findings of William Miller, a consensus historian. Trotting out the same data presented in his doctoral dissertation on Newburyport—data which anyone with the slightest acquaintance with sociological method would recognize as unrepresentative—Thernstrom argues that "there was little room at the top [of American society], except for those who started very close to it," but that there was "impressive . . . though . . . rather ambiguous" mobility on lower social levels. In much the fashion of Marvin Meyers' *The Jacksonian Persuasion*. Michael A. Lebowitz' essay suggests that the Jacksonians appealed to "an embattled farmer, a disappointed farmer, a declining farmer," and to other "people *injured* by change." His thesis, he boldly announces, has not been challenged; neither, he candidly admits, "has it been properly tested." Discussing American interests in the Far East from 1870 to 1900, Marilyn B. Young decides, in an argument that would doubtless be acceptable to Richard Hofstadter and other consensus historians, that a "national neurosis" was responsible.

The remaining essays in *Towards a New Past* are more identifiably written from the Left, but it is questionable whether their conclusions can be called new. In a tone of surprise Eugene D. Genovese, himself a Marxist, reveals the secret that "Marx and Engels left us nothing close to a coherent and comprehensive critique of the Slave South" and that subsequent Marxist historians have been about as bad. Attempting to "make the inarticulate speak," Jesse Lemisch speculates that the "masses" in the American Revolution may have had their own democratic objectives and may have been fighting exploiters, "whether they were Englishmen or Americans." To this hoary thesis, advanced a generation ago by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., and Carl L. Becker, it is enough to counter with Lynd's blunt: "the evidence is overwhelming that internal conflict was a secondary aspect of the revolution of 1776."

Reaching about the same conclusion advanced by Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman in 1925, Lloyd C. Gardner argues that the motivation of American foreign policy from 1900 to 1921 was "not simply a quest to bring law and order into international relations, but also a desire to put American banks into underdeveloped areas of the world. . . ." Robert F. Smith's discussion of "American Foreign Relations, 1920-1941," continues in the same vein, finding that "the concept of security was thoroughly entangled with the belief that the preservation of private enterprise capitalism in the United States depended upon a world order in which this system was free to operate with few restrictions."

Perhaps the least novel of the essays is Mr. Bernstein's own piece on the New Deal, which repeats all the clichés of the very Old Left of the 1930's and 1940's. With astonishment and indignation Bernstein has discovered that "the liberal reforms of the New Deal did not transform the American system; they conserved and protected American corporate capitalism," that Franklin D. Roosevelt's "liberalism [was] cautious and limited, his experimentalism narrow," and that he "capitulated to the forces of racism." Bernstein's second essay holds American liberals responsible for the witch-hunts of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Here, then, are the voices of the New Left—mostly neither new nor left. On the basis of this collection of essays it would be easy to conclude that the historical profession has already paid these writers more attention than they deserve and that hereafter their effusions might better be publicized in the obscure partisan periodicals to which they frequently contribute. Such a reaction, however, could cost the discipline of history sadly, for the profession, dull and complacent, needs the concern for ideas, the social involvement, and the passion these dissenters exhibit.

In turn, if these New Leftists wish a significant share in the writing of American history, they need to re-evaluate their attitudes and ideas. It would help if they began by ceasing to claim that they are the voice of outraged youth; a movement in which Lynd, born in 1929, and Genovese, born in 1930, are leaders is scarcely a children's crusade. Let them also end their plaintive laments that the "power structure" of the historical profession ignores them. According to the "Notes on Contributors," the writers represented in the present volume teach, among other places, at Yale, Stanford, Northwestern, Princeton, Brandeis, and Chicago. But most of all, let them stop cannibalizing their predecessors and get on with the writing of their own books—hopefully better than this one. Then, perhaps, they will come to share with Lynd, their most thoughtful spokesman, that "vision of history as cumulative enterprise in which more and more truth is discovered."

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID DONALD

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE CRITICAL HISTORIAN. By *G. Kitson Clark*. (New York: Basic Books. 1967. Pp. viii, 214. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95.)

THIS book is addressed to the ordinary man or reader, to show him how to be critical when confronted with statements about the past. It begins well by pointing out how subtle and persuasive the influence of such statements is on our daily thinking, whether they stem from ordinary men's talk or from writers like Macaulay or Lytton Strachey. The opening chapters read, unfortunately, as if addressed only to persons who are "going to trade in history" as teachers of the subject. It is presumed that anyone who ignores what professional history has to offer will be unable to criticize history-based assumptions implicit in daily discourse, and there is no awareness that today the social sciences see it as one of their prime functions to provide this ability.

The first third of the book is weakened, indeed, by repeated suggestions that the ordinary man does well to defer to historical scholars, as well as by primer-like talk of the uncovering of forgeries, and of the gaps in history's framework of reliable fact. Such passages are at odds with the author's more sophisticated insistence that this framework is not itself history since without interpretation the past would be meaningless and incoherent.

The ensuing discussions of the histories of shorthand and of the *State Trials* in England are, however, wholly interesting and to the point. They illustrate well that historical criticism does more than simply clear away rubbish, and it can help anyone see details and meanings not previously seen or suspected. The role of footnotes is discussed twice in successive chapters; the second time the tone is positive, the ordinary reader is regarded as capable of a scholarly attitude, and what is said is wholly admirable.

What follows, the last third of the book, is excellent; it deals with the difficulties and inescapability of generic statements about nation and race and social class and with the need for and weaknesses of both historical imagination and systematic quantitative analysis. This part, in particular, can be recommended to both the professional historian and the ordinary reader as being the mature reflections of a distinguished scholar.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL L. WARD

THE PRACTICE OF HISTORY. By *G. R. Elton*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1967. Pp. vi, 178. \$5.50.)

MANUALS of historiography are not what they used to be, to judge from this small volume by Geoffrey Elton. Although it traverses much the same ground as Bernheim's magisterial *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, and indeed often

seems to make the same points, Elton's book is presented as "a manifesto rather than a treatise," and it is appropriately modest, witty, and topical.

The first chapter, on the reasons for studying history, is a defense by counter-attack against philosophy and what Elton is pleased to term "so-called social sciences." Philosophers are rebuked for "only hindering the practice of history" by their investigations of historical thought, while any take-over bids by the social sciences are disposed of by definition. Elton rightly does not take the fact that it deals with past phenomena to be distinctive to history. He rather defines history as peculiarly concerned with events rather than states, with change, and with the particular. (The last is usefully distinguished from the unique, which, lacking every measurable dimension, could not be assessed at all.) Since the particular things that historians study are peculiar to themselves and not "indistinguishable statistical units," Elton claims that the aspirations of social science are misapplied to history. He even deftly turns the impossibility of experimental verification of historical theories into an advantage; the historian can at least know that he investigates things with "a dead reality independent of the enquiry," whereas the physical scientist manipulates his material and thus can study only "specifically prepared artificial derivatives from what naturally occurs."

Most historians will probably recognize and applaud Elton's descriptions of their efforts. They will likely profit most from his reflections on research, writing, and teaching. He denies that research is the pursuit of evidence to answer a particular question; it is "an exhaustive, and exhausting, review of everything that may conceivably be germane to a given investigation." This is more practicable for Elton's sixteenth century than later, but he proposes techniques for sampling the overwhelming abundance of evidence that embarrasses the modern historian. There is an excellent section on criticism of sources, adorned by felicitous examples. The chapter on writing gives particularly helpful specific advice on organizing an analytical book and weaving analytical sections into a narrative. Elton also does his bit toward purging the historical vocabulary, disarmingly illustrating some faults from his own writings. The chapter on teaching, though somewhat more relevant to England than America, is notable for its staunch defense of lecturing and of political history as being the keystone of the curriculum.

The book has some singularly pungent asides on, among other things, courses in historical methodology; *Young Man Luther*; textbooks that consist of snippets from various historians who have written on a certain issue; self-advertisement, especially by social historians; and the tepid approval typical of American reviewing. Lest one lapse into the last, a few demurs are in order. Social historians are indeed given to writing in the prophetic vein about the books they will write (an infection caught from writing up proposals to foundations); their achievement, especially that of the French, is nonetheless greater than Elton suggests, and he underestimates the recalcitrance of new techniques and computers. Though philosophers have often written about history without acquaintance with historical practice and in pursuit of their own distinctive interests, as, for example, in a general theory of explanation, it does not follow that historical practice is altogether ineffable and beyond hope of benefit from logical clarification. This book, indeed, contributes to clarification, and it could have done even more

had the implications of the arguments been systematically pursued. One wonders, particularly, how the crucial emphasis on the autonomy of history and the particularity of its subject matter would be affected by a fuller account of those "wholes" which, Elton grants, the historian can construct with the help of economics and social psychology, or the generalizations which, he says, distinguish the inspiring historian from the hack.

Wesleyan University

RICHARD T. VANN

LOOKING AT HISTORY THROUGH MATHEMATICS. By *N. Rashevsky*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968. Pp. xvi, 199. \$10.00.)

FIFTEEN years ago the author of this book published in the *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics* (LV [no. 2, 1953], 197-234) an article entitled "Outline of a Mathematical Approach to History" in which he presented a "mathematical model for the development of human society." Assuming that "history stands very much in the same relation to human society as paleontology to the whole kingdom of the living," he expressed confidence that "mathematics may come to serve history by 'postdicting' past events, just as it 'predicts' future events in physical sciences." In the present volume this suggestion is pursued in greater detail. No particular doctrine of history is espoused, although the name of Toynbee appears to arise more frequently than that of any other scholar except the author himself. History itself plays a rather inconsequential role, and most of the book concerns topics favored by the author in such earlier studies as *Mathematical Theory of Human Relations* (1947) and *Mathematical Biophysics* (3d ed., 1960). Among these are the interaction of individuals in a society, imitative behavior and the development of aggressiveness, beliefs and prejudices, and effects of geographical factors on rates of cultural development. For Rashevsky the motivating factor in history is not essentially different from the mechanism of social dynamics, and, emboldened by successes in applications of mathematics to biology and sociology, he now seeks to give possible answers to two simplistically framed questions: First, what is the mechanism of the shift from a society which accepts almost anything on faith to one in which rational reasoning slowly begins to predominate? And second, why did this mechanism operate at a particular rate? In attempting to answer these questions, the author appears to favor an approach to history somewhat resembling that of Auguste Comte. Virtually dispensing with evidence from the past, he prefers a backward extrapolation from contemporary findings in social science, much as the cosmogonist proceeds from modern physics and chemistry to descriptions of developments on the earth many eons ago. One wonders, however, if such "scientific postdiction" which proceeds backward from the present can legitimately be subsumed under the name "history" without prejudice to the presently recognized professional study of evidence afforded by documents, artifacts, and traditions. Mathematical theory of group behavior is to become the chief tool of the proposed deterministic or quasi-deterministic view, for "Historical individuals are not causes of historical changes but rather symptoms of such changes or forthcoming changes." In fact, Rashevsky suggests a parallelism between the kinetic theory of gaseous

diffusion and the historical spread of human knowledge over the surface of the earth, and he deduces therefrom estimates of ancient population densities and of the span of time, some ten thousand years, from earliest cultures to our day. The validity of applying to rational, or at least animated, individuals a scientific pattern devised to describe the behavior of inert gas molecules does not seem to be seriously questioned.

The author repeatedly warns that he is not so much seeking "to develop some generally applicable theory" as he is "to develop the methodology of the new approach"; at least one reader, however, feels that a resort to quantitative mathematical models of mass social behavior may not be an altogether happy replacement for well-established rules of historical evidence. That history and mathematics can be mutually helpful is clearly a truism, but *Looking at History through Mathematics* comes uncomfortably close to dispensing entirely with the former.

Brooklyn College

CARL B. BOYER

THE CODEBREAKERS: THE STORY OF SECRET WRITING. By *David Kahn*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xvi, 1164. \$14.95.)

The Codebreakers traces the rise of cryptology from its obscure origins in ancient times to its present status as a mature science associated with mathematics and electrical engineering. Besides the science itself, we also learn of the cryptologists and of their role in society. The Renaissance cryptologist was either a dabbler in an almost black art or the solitary agent of a despot. His cold war counterpart is a bureaucrat working in a vast intelligence agency with highly expensive computers. More than half of the book deals with twentieth-century cryptology.

The author is a prominent amateur cryptologist with a profound knowledge of his subject. His research was extensive, largely in unpublished or almost inaccessible sources. A journalist by profession, Mr. Kahn made his story understandable to those with no prior knowledge of cryptology. His lively style sometimes lapses into purple prose but never into sensationalism. He presents a well-balanced viewpoint, neither unduly emphasizing nor underrating the influence of cryptology on diplomacy and war, and his chapter on Pearl Harbor demolishes, once again, revisionist nonsense about FDR's "treason."

Some criticism is warranted. Since the book is unnecessarily long and provides more of an encyclopedia of cryptology than a history, few but cryptology buffs will want to read it through. Hundreds of pages are devoted to a multitude of miscellaneous topics, such as Poe's *Gold Bug*, which are only vaguely related to the main themes. There are far too many details and far too many thumbnail biographies of minor cryptologists. Perhaps the author was determined to use everything, no matter how trivial, in his note cards. His organization is disconcerting. The chapter on Pearl Harbor is out of place because it is used to gain attention, and another chapter is admittedly a catchall. Kahn is an expert on the history of cryptology, but his comments on general historical trends often sound like clichés from a Freshman examination. The documentation is impressive, but the footnotes are at the back of the book, and, worse, nothing in the text

indicates when a footnote occurs. The key connecting notes and text is in the footnote section itself.

Despite these criticisms, I welcome *The Codebreakers*. Most historians, especially those in twentieth-century diplomatic and military history, will find much here that is interesting and important.

Towson State College

KARL LAREW

CITIES OF DESTINY. By *Arnold Toynbee et al.* Edited by *Arnold Toynbee*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1967. Pp. 376. \$30.00.)

A MAJOR virtue of this oversized, magnificently illustrated, and expensive book is that it stimulates the reader to think comparatively about cities over time and space. The cities treated range from Athens in the fifth century B.C. to Ecumenopolis, world city of the future, and include Alexandria under the Ptolemies, second-century Rome, Changan from the seventh to the tenth century, Muslim Córdoba and Christian Constantinople, medieval Paris, Venice and Florence in the fifteenth century, sixteenth-century Mexico-Tenochtitlán, Isfahan and Delhi in the seventeenth century, St. Petersburg and Weimar in the eighteenth century, Vienna (1815-1848), Victorian and Edwardian London, and mid-twentieth-century New York City. The eras selected are those in which, according to the editor, the city's history "made a mark on the subsequent history of civilization."

Each city is discussed by a specialist in the chosen period, and the text is amplified by sections of superb illustrations, in both color and black-and-white photography. The authors' approaches are both scholarly and traditional. They deal with the cities' appearance, constitutional and political structure, social and economic patterns, urban amenities, and activities in the areas of entertainment and the arts. Some are more skillful than others in revealing the essence of the community as an urban entity. Honors in this regard go to Sir Maurice Bowra on Athens, J. R. Hale on *quattrocento* Venice, Jérôme Carcopino on Rome, Sir Steven Runciman on Constantinople, and Roger Fulford on Victorian and Edwardian London. The segment dealing with urbanism in the United States is somewhat disappointing because the treatment deviates from the pattern of the rest of the book. Allan Nevins contributes an essay not on one city but on urban development generally in the United States, with less emphasis on the impulse to urbanism in American life, despite the nation's rural tradition, than is appropriate; and Andrew Sinclair's vignette of mid-twentieth-century New York City, often perceptive and adroitly epigrammatic, is more visitor's commentary than scholarly exposition.

In terms of their contribution to the comparative study of cities (whether or not the book was intended for this purpose), the essays underline the point that periods of marked urban well-being were those in which size permitted a community of interest among the citizenry and in which conditions existed for the pleasurable employment of the citizens' leisure time. Arnold Toynbee, in a sweeping introductory essay, stresses the need for humanizing, through planning, the conditions of life in the modern metropolis; and the blueprint for the world city of the future, described by Constantinos A. Doxiadis, provides for a network

of relatively small population centers, connected by high-speed transportation, in which man can "re-establish the community of the neighbourhood."

New York University

BAYRD STILL

MÉLANGES OFFERTS À G. JACQUEMYNS. ([Brussels:] Université Libre de Bruxelles, Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie. 1968. Pp. xxxii, 679. 1050 fr. B.)

WHAT keeps a memorial *mélange* from becoming a meaningless motley is the influence that the memorializee has exerted on the memorializers. Professor Jacquemyns was a widely influential pioneer in the study of modern social and economic history (the four hundred subscriptions to this memorial came from all over Europe as well as from North America, Africa, and Australia), and it is possible to distinguish the shape of his influence by the forty-three articles assembled here. His pioneering spirit is still present in the dozen selections that examine a single document, collection, or problem, usually to commend or prepare it for future use by historians. In this category, Charles Verlinden's examination of a census of natives by an early Spanish conquistador is probably the most valuable piece in the book, while André Uyttebrouck's examination of the records of a medieval leprosarium comes perilously close to documenting inanity. Other authors investigate a collection of clerical property declarations in 1787, a trade proposal by the English Privy Council in 1791, French episcopal letters in 1917, the French censuses of 1811 and of 1921, an eighteenth-century protest against the "truck system" in the iron industry, the financial statement of the *Crédit lyonnais*, and a proposal made in 1789 for a set of banks in Neapolitan areas. Professor Arnould establishes the traditional area of Tournai, and Professor Duroselle explores the relationship between personalities and ideologies.

The emphasis throughout is on the economic and social aspects of history, even where the subject matter is diplomatic or political, as, for example, the influence of press and public opinion on the foreign policy of Walpole, of Leopold II, of Benedict XV, and of the Belgians in 1918; Jacques Godechot's treatment of Napoleon III; and Jean Stengers' excellent discussion of railroads and the establishment of the northern Belgian border in 1830. Several categories stand out: Five articles, the poorest selections in the book, deal with urbanism. Six concern banks or finance, discussing the House of Rothschild in 1873, a land bank during the French Revolution, Belgian investment in northern French industry, and the crisis of 1929. Seven are concerned with nineteenth-century revolutionary movements, from the Restoration in France to socialism in Switzerland, and they are among the best in the book. Three closely linked ones by Bartier, Dhondt, and Halkin on the First International are especially valuable. Jan Craeybeckx's historiographical invitation to explore the origins of the Industrial Revolution in Belgium during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and Jean Halpérin's suggestion that international organization is conditioning contemporary economic thought are especially provocative. Finally, some of the selections suggest that there is really nothing new under the sun. Bernard Schnapper tells of a kind of "insurance business" that developed in nineteenth-century France based on securing replacements for youths caught by the draft lottery. Léon Halkin explores the

development in Belgian universities one hundred years ago of an organization amazingly like today's Students for a Democratic Society. John Gilissen examines a looting trial during the riots-*cum*-Revolution of 1830 for evidence of police brutality or class discrimination. Robert Aubert's suggestions for new approaches to Vatican I apply more clearly and obviously to Vatican II. Jean Fourastié brings the volume to a climax with a provocative essay on some of the moral and social implications of economic abundance and *la pilule*.

Lewis and Clark College

ALLAN H. KITTELL

THE IMPACT OF THE CHURCH UPON ITS CULTURE: REAPPRAISALS OF THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Quirinus Breen et al.* Edited by *Jerald C. Brauer*. [Essays in Divinity, Volume II.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. x, 396. \$8.50.)

THIS volume represents an attempt by the present generation of scholars at the University of Chicago to correct the exaggerations of an earlier Chicago school that stressed rightly but unduly the effects of environment upon the development of Christian thought and behavior. There is a parallel here to the shift of emphasis on the part of H. Richard Niebuhr, who in his earlier work, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, stressed the environmental factors, but in his later book, *The Kingdom of God in America*, showed how this theological concept fashioned the fabric of New England and indeed American society. With respect to unity of presentation, Niebuhr's books have the advantage of having been written by a single author, able to achieve an integration that is impossible here since the present work has fourteen contributors. Some of the essays have manifestly been written on request and address themselves directly to the theme; others are special treatments, all excellent, in the fields of the authors' specializations with adaptations to the thesis of the book. The arrangement is chronological with reference to the subject matter, but there is no systematic attempt to cover all of the aspects of culture. The effects of Christianity on economic problems and domestic ethics, for example, do not come into the purview. One cannot expect everything in a single volume, however, and to be made aware of the impact of Christianity in diverse and unexpected quarters is enlightening.

Robert M. Grant deals with a philological problem and studies the shifts in meaning of words beginning with the prefix "auto" as used by the Greek philosophers and as used by the early Church fathers, who took over terms from the Neoplatonists, applied them to the doctrine of the Trinity, and in so doing invested the words with new meanings. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., deals with the effect of the Constantinian revolution. Christianity ended the deification of the emperor, but Constantine became a sort of lay bishop and started the trend toward union of church and state. His concern for world unity was increased by Christian universalism. Robert L. Wilken points out that the early Christian writers had a very deleterious impact on culture by introducing a new variety of anti-Semitism, not sociological but theological, and Christian historians effaced the evidence of the vitality of Judaism in the early Christian centuries of which their very polemic is the proof. Matthew Spinka provides a detailed account of the early history of Christianity in Russia from the conversion of Vladimir until

the end of the fourteenth century, concluding that Moscow gained its pre-eminence through the Church. Ray C. Petry, in dealing with the reformers Grosseteste, Bacon, and Lull, paints the reformers as catalysts of cultural change. Conciliar thought, according to Richard Luman, was not derived from mavericks or heretics, but from the canons, the Scripture, and the example of the early Christian centuries, and it had theological roots. Quirinus Breen writes on "Humanism and the Reformation," suggesting that the Neoplatonic ingredients in Calvin's thought were picked up at the court of Marguerite of Navarre. This would simply show an influence of the environment on Calvin. The Reformation did, however, influence culture in that the religious autonomy of the individual passed over into other areas, and the concern of the reformers to propagate their ideas brought the art of persuasion—rhetoric—to its apogee.

The article by John T. McNeill, to whom this volume is fittingly dedicated, is the finest in the book for the direct manner in which it illustrates the theme. It is entitled "The Religious Initiative in Reformation History," and in it the author discounts both the Marxist and the psychological interpretations of the Reformation, very properly insisting that the Reformation was primarily motivated by religious conviction.

Cornelius J. Dyck seeks to show that the Anabaptists were not antisocial, in the sense that they washed their hands of society and withdrew into communities of the saints. They wanted to make saints of all Europe and in their own communities to give examples of a whole new order of society. Withdrawal was forced upon them. B. A. Gerrish asks whether the Reformation aided or impeded the progress of modern science and concludes that the Reformation did not hinder scientific progress. George A. Drake asserts that no finer illustration of the influence of Christianity upon culture can be found than Oliver Cromwell's attitude toward religious liberty. He was more tolerant than his Parliaments, and more tolerant even than himself, for he intervened on behalf of Quakers, Anglicans and Catholics in contravention of his avowed principles. James D. Nelson traces the relations of rationalism, piety, and culture in the case of Schleiermacher, and Jaroslav Pelikan shares his knowledge of the Slavic tongues in dealing with the enigma of the Slovak, Josef Hurban (1817–1888). Hurban at first wrote in the language of the Czech Bible to emphasize the unity of the Czechs and Slovaks, but then switched to the use of literary Slovak, on the ground that Slavic unity must be of the spirit rather than of the language, and finally reverted back to the use of the language of the Czech Bible, not to unite Czechs and Slovaks, but, rather, Hussites and Lutherans. G. Wayne Glick gives attention to Harnack, who, restricted from the role of a reformer within the Church by ecclesiastical conservatives, became the mediator of Christianity to the contemporary culture. He believed in the union of science and religion. For him the one meant historical science and the other, Christianity. He desired to make the history of Christianity thoroughly scientific in its rigorous fidelity to historical sources. At the same time he insisted that the documents of Christianity could not be understood save through a new birth of the spirit, which no mere facts can engender.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

SINS OF THE FATHERS: A STUDY OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADERS, 1441-1807. By *James Pope-Hennessy*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xiv, 286, x. \$7.95.)

Mr. Pope-Hennessy has set out to tell us the story of the African slave traders, rather than to retell the general story of the trade itself; in so doing, he offers us a book both disappointing and attractive. It disappoints, or at least will likely disappoint, the specialist because there is so little in it that is new. Written from well-known printed sources and containing no footnotes, the book has limited scholarly value. No small part of the problem arises from the paucity of data, so that even the useful and sensitive sketches of Bosman, Barbot, Snelgrave, Crow, King Pepple, and lesser men have a familiar ring. As a result, he spends much time on the trade, rather than the traders, and even on life in the islands—subjects on which he has nothing new to say. Those who have read the old accounts will not find much to surprise them here; in fact, it is questionable that Pope-Hennessy has added anything significant to what we have learned from such secondary works as those of Spears, DuBois, and Davidson. Yet, it would be unfair and pedantic to leave matters there, for the book has merits and, apart from its undeniable usefulness for students, will repay the effort of the specialist.

The book is unusually well written. It combines a humane sensibility with a minimum of moralizing; shrewd observations with only a few historical errors (some of which, however, should embarrass the author); and, above all, a delightful personal touch with a strong attempt at objectivity. Having visited an impressive number of the places he discusses, the author brings to his account vivid descriptions of places that emerge only vaguely from earlier works. He has a flair and can tear open obfuscated processes with a single thrust: "By [Bosman's] time the slave trade was functioning with smooth efficiency, inside a recognized framework of tradition, convention, and a kind of hideous respectability." His brief discussion of the British abolitionists, notably Clarkson, is sympathetic and judicious, but, while eschewing crass economic criticisms, he treats European philanthropy with a deserved, if gentle, contempt, as when he recounts the reaction of King Pepple to the news of the sanctioned mass murders of the Napoleonic era: "In King Pepple's view it was better to traffic in human beings than to drive tens of thousands to slaughter. Why should people in England fuss about the slave trade when they did not fuss about the deaths at Austerlitz." The answer to King Pepple's question, as to most of the knotty questions concerning the trade, will not be found here, but they have been presented with controlled indignation, urbane wit, and a decent respect for the dilemmas and the frailty of those humans, white and black, who entered into a ghastly story.

Sir George Williams University

EUGENE D. GENOVESE

ASPECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE: A SYMPOSIUM. PAPERS PRESENTED AT A CONFERENCE ON THE MEANING OF THE RENAISSANCE. Edited by *Archibald R. Lewis*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 189. \$6.00.)

THIS is the sixth collection of papers from Renaissance symposia to appear in a little more than a decade. It presents ten contributions to the international con-

ference on the meaning of the Renaissance held at Austin in April 1964 under the auspices of the South Central Renaissance Conference and the University of Texas. The papers are arranged and briefly introduced by Professor Archibald R. Lewis under five headings: "The Political Scene," "Old and New Traditions of Culture," "Arts and Letters," "Renaissance and Reformation," "Science and Economic Life." Something of their full variety and range will be readily apparent from a list of contributors and titles: Walter Ullmann, "The Rebirth of the Citizen on the Eve of the Renaissance Period"; J. Russell Major, "Popular Initiative in Renaissance France"; Peter Russell, "Arms versus Letters: Towards a Definition of Spanish Fifteenth-Century Humanism"; Walter L. Woodfill, "Patronage and Music in [Tudor-early Stuart] England"; H. W. Janson, "The Equestrian Monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great"; Eugénie Droz, "Marguerite de Valois's Album of Verse"; Lewis W. Spitz, "The Third Generation of German Renaissance Humanists"; Michael G. Hall, "Renaissance Science in Puritan New England"; Edward Rosen, "In Defense of Kepler"; Herbert Heaton, "Concerning Clio, Concepts and Quantities."

Taken as a whole, the volume has the virtues and, unfortunately, the faults of the genre. Certainly it is, like its predecessors, an appropriate and useful forum for the pluralistic world of current Renaissance studies. Gone are the dogmatism and heavy-handed generalizations heard all too often in the clashes between the Burckhardts and the medievalist reactionaries of earlier generations. Editor and contributors alike presuppose a general recognition of the diversity and complexity of the Renaissance in time and space, sympathy with the detailed investigations of the specialist, and an openness toward varying approaches and interpretations. The difficulty with the collection, as with similar publications, is that it suffers from lack of focus, uneven quality, and the temptation of scholars to paraphrase their other writings. Neither the ambitious theme of the symposium nor Lewis' neat but artificial arrangement can disguise these defects. Nor can they ease such painful transitions as that between Janson's suggestive history of the equestrian monument and the cameo-like piece by Droz, not to mention that between Rosen's labored defense of Kepler and the after-dinner remarks of Heaton. In the end one is left with the feeling that such symposia should be heard but not seen in book form.

University of California, Berkeley

RANDOLPH STARN

CHRISTIANITY AND HUMANISM: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *Quirinus Breen*. Collected and published in his honor. With a foreword by *Paul Oskar Kristeller* and a preface by *Heiko A. Oberman*. Edited by *Nelson Peter Ross*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1968. Pp. xviii, 283. \$6.95.)

REPRINTING these seven studies constitutes a fitting tribute to Quirinus Breen as he continues a long and distinguished career of teaching and scholarship. The contents of the volume are valuable for themselves; they also provide a sense of the stature of the man honored here.

The first four studies deal mainly with the relations between rhetoric and theology or philosophy in the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation: "Three Renaissance Humanists on the Relation of Philosophy and Rhetoric

[Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Ermolao Barbaro, and Philipp Melanchthon]"; "The Twofold Truth Theory in Melanchthon," "The Terms 'Loci communes' and 'Loci' in Melanchthon," and "John Calvin and the Rhetorical Tradition."

A second group of studies treats of Roman law in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: "The Twelfth-Century Revival of the Roman Law"; and "Renaissance Humanism and Roman Law."

The final section contains the Scott Lectures originally given in 1961 at the Christian Theological Seminary under the title "The Church as Mother of Learning." Breen here offers a more personal statement on a subject central to his thought, the proper relation between Christianity (or the church) and scholarship.

In addition to the studies, the volume contains a preface by Paul Oskar Kristeller; a foreword by Heiko A. Oberman; a curriculum vitae by the editor, Nelson Peter Ross; and a bibliography of Breen's publications.

In these studies, as in his other works and in his life, Breen appears as a paradigm of the Christian teacher-scholar. Within Christianity, Breen's persuasion is, to use his own phrase, that of "a Protestant ecumenicalist." Further, he is convinced that Christianity and learning are mutually supporting, though always on the condition that the realm of nature and reason retains its autonomy. As he states the issue in a subheading of the Scott Lectures: "Of secular learning: Let it be secular." Within the secular area, Breen's sympathies lie on the side of what may be roughly described as the tradition of rational humanism. And finally the interest of the active teacher shines through in all of the studies.

Many will welcome the present publication both for itself and also as a tribute to a teacher held in high and affectionate esteem. He is to be congratulated on his past achievements, and the world of scholarship hopes for the early completion of his edition of Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*.

Connecticut College

F. EDWARD CRANZ

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ESSAYS. By *Henri Peyre*. ([Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.] 1968. Pp. vii, 297. \$5.50.)

THIS collection of historical and literary essays contains a very wide range of subjects. Of special interest to historians are the first four essays: "History and Literature in Contemporary France," "Three Nineteenth Century Myths: Race, Nation, Revolution," "The Influence of Eighteenth Century Ideas on French Revolution," and "Napoleon: Devil, Poet, Saint." The other essays are on literary subjects: "What Greece Means to Modern France," "English Literature Seen through French Eyes," "Shakespeare's Women—a French View," "Religion and Literary Scholarship in France," "Romantic Poetry and Rhetoric," "Romanticism and French Literature Today," "The Responsibility of Mass Media," "Excellence and Leadership: Has Western Europe Any Lesson for Us," and, finally, "The Crisis of Modern Man as Seen by Malraux and Camus." These essays are dense with stimulating and original ideas, but the ideas are often so condensed and so crowded, one on another, that the essays are not easy reading.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM ABROAD. By *Carl J. Friedrich*. [The Gaspar G. Bacon Lecture on the Constitution of the United States, 1966.] (Boston: Boston University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 112. \$4.75.)

THE Gaspar G. Bacon Lectureship on the Constitution of the United States, which was established at Boston University in 1927, was held in 1966 by Carl J. Friedrich, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University and professor at the University of Heidelberg. In these lectures Friedrich explores the impact of the American Constitution upon other countries, against a background of distinguished scholarship and practical experience in the field of government. He was governmental adviser to the American military governor in Germany after World War II, later held a similar position in Puerto Rico, and has participated in a number of international institutes. The documentation for his Bacon Lectures emphasizes his own far-ranging contributions to the published scholarship of his discipline, to which many references are made, as well as his familiarity with foreign-language publications drawn from many parts of the world.

Friedrich starts from the premise that the three main elements of American constitutionalism are the office of the President ("presidentialism" is his phrase), federalism, and judicial review, especially as it relates to human rights. In addition, he makes an interesting point in stressing the significance of the amending process built into the American constitutional system, since it serves to underline the distinction between statute law and the higher law of the Constitution. He correctly notes that this point is rarely reflected in the constitutional systems of other countries whose commitment to parliamentary supremacy tends to blur, or even to obliterate, the distinction between constitutional law and other types of law.

While foreign observers have devoted much attention to American presidentialism, it has only been adopted in some of the Latin American states. Since American federalism has served to solve problems that many other countries have, it has exercised a much greater influence in the world-wide effort to balance central with local interests. Finally, the American system of judicial review, with direct judicial enforcement of bills of rights in suits brought by individuals, while widely admired, has had little acceptance in the rest of the world.

One cannot quarrel with Friedrich's general observation that "American constitutionalism's greatest impact occurred *not* by way of having American institutions taken over lock, stock, and barrel, but by stimulating men into thinking out the various alternatives confronting them." These alternatives are explored by the author, briefly but competently.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID FELLMAN

THE ATOMISTS (1805-1933). By *Sir Basil Schonland*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 198. \$5.60.)

ACCORDING to its preface, this book is a "brief story of ideas and of the men and women to whom they came." The author has achieved his purpose: he is brief,

and he has told a story, namely, of the way modern atomic theory should have developed were history as logical as physics. This is not to say the book is not useful and interesting. It is the best popular account of the subject to date; it is well written, though sometimes unnecessarily compressed; it presents older ideas clearly and vigorously, if often anachronistically; it shows how a distinguished contemporary physicist, long interested in the history of his subject, understands the manner in which it developed; and it warns historians of science that, if they wish accurate popular histories, they will have to write them themselves.

Schonland begins with Dalton's model, which enables him to touch on the theory of caloric and thermodynamics, and then proceeds to the ion and to ideas of electricity held by Maxwell, Hertz, and Lorentz. Electromagnetic waves lead naturally to heat radiation and to Planck; the ion to the gas discharge, X rays, and the electron. After the best chapter in the book, which is devoted to the discovery of the corpuscle, the story becomes almost entirely English: Thomson's atomic program, Rutherford and radioactivity, Rutherford and α rays, Rutherford and the nucleus, Bohr (a student of Rutherford's) and the atom, and Aston, Rutherford, and nuclear physics. A very short account of the continental invention of quantum mechanics completes the story.

The book is not documented, though it shows evidence, especially in parts dealing with English contributions, that its author occasionally had recourse to the sources. Usually, however, Schonland appears to depend on secondary writers, and he has not always chosen reliable ones. He writes, for example, that the study of the nature of light began only in the seventeenth century; that Dalton was "extremely well educated"; that Becquerel invented the word "radioactivity"; that Giesel discovered the complexity of Becquerel rays; that Stoney's "electron" was a particle; that spectroscopy was Bohr's initial and continuing guide to the quantized atom; and that the Grotthus-Davy theory was "dogma" in 1850. Most of these errors are corrected in, or omitted from, the better recent historiography of science.

The Atomists requires more physics of its readers than did Schonland's earlier, elegant vulgarization of his own special field, *The Flight of Thunderbolts* (1950). Those properly prepared will probably also appreciate his brief, lively, faulty atomic story.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN L. HEILBRON

STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO
W. NORTON MEDLICOTT, STEVENSON PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON. Edited
by K. Bourne and D. C. Watt. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1967.
Pp. xiii, 446. \$12.00.)

PROFESSOR Medlicott should be pleased and proud to be the recipient of such an excellent collection of essays. There are twenty-one of them in all, together with a biographical note on Medlicott's distinguished career and an impressive list of his historical writings.

Appropriately enough, most of the *Festschrift* falls squarely into that field of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century diplomatic history with which

Medlicott is so well identified. But this pattern does not emerge until after the first three essays which, however great their value, conform to no known pattern. These three are Herbert Butterfield on "Delays and Paradoxes in the Development of Historiography," Sir Llewellyn Woodward on "The Rise of the Professional Historian in England," and Frank Barlow on "The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio" [*sic*]. After these, to a diplomatic historian, somewhat exotic pieces, the volume assumes a more coherent shape. We start chronologically with M. S. Anderson on Napoleon's Continental System and proceed chronologically to Alan S. Milward on "German Economic Policy towards France, 1942-1944." Between these two there are sixteen other good articles, mostly original in concept and written from primary sources. Anyone interested in modern diplomatic history will find something new and useful here by way of either fact or insight.

With apologies to those unmentioned, I can say that I most enjoyed Gordon Craig's discerning portrait of "Wilhelm von Humboldt as Diplomat," Y. T. Kurat's detailed story (using Turkish sources) of "How Turkey Drifted into World War I," Duncan Hall's myth-destroying account of "The British Commonwealth and the Founding of the League Mandate System," and Donald Watt's keen analysis of "South African Attempts to Mediate between Britain and Germany." Admittedly another reviewer could as readily pick out four other equally tasty morsels that specially pleased him in this well-prepared potpourri.

Department of State

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

OUR BROTHERS IN CHRIST, 1870-1959. By *H. Daniel-Rops*. Translated from the French by *J. M. Orpen* and *John Warrington*. Edited by *A. Cox* and *J. Hetherington*. [History of the Church of Christ, Volume X.] (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1967. Pp. ix, 496. \$10.00.)

WITH this tenth volume, the late Henri Daniel-Rops concluded his panoramic survey of the "History of the Church of Christ." As the title suggests, the subject matter embraces all the non-Roman Catholic bodies throughout the world, viewed through the eyes of an outsider, a courteous, ecumenical-minded, devout Catholic. After a cursory summary of Reformation origins and proliferations (dealt with more fully in an earlier volume), the book moves through the Protestant world noting its geographic expansion, the distinctive characteristics of its national churches and multitudinous sects, its evangelical, liturgical, or theological revivals, renewals or declines of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A separate section is devoted to Greek and Russian Orthodoxy, whose impressive antiquity and liturgical spirituality are described with evident sympathy. Other "separated brethren"—the ancient Nestorian and Monophysite churches of the Near East, Africa, and India—receive their share of attention. A final chapter, "The Seamless Coat," summarizes the many pious attempts toward either Protestant unity or "return" to the Roman fold, climaxed by the concrete existence of the World Council of Churches, Pope John XXIII, and Vatican II. The swift pace of events in the religious world, however, is hard on authors, and Daniel-Rops was caught with a hint of condescension toward these wayward brothers, an attitude already dated.

This is really a guidebook for the faithful, a veritable Baedeker to all sorts

and conditions of separated brethren. Using mainly French secondary sources, the book becomes an impressionistic, one-dimensional account, relying on sweeping surveys and statistics for institutional growth, missions, or social services, and on descriptive accounts of people and movements, from Kierkegaard to Kagawa, from Mount Athos to Taizé. It is unfortunate, as it would be for any guidebook, that there are factual and theological inaccuracies, at least in areas where I am competent to judge. People and even movements are placed in the wrong centuries; in some cases their histories or contributions seem completely confused or misunderstood.

It is disappointing to read a general historical work lacking the two qualities that alone justify the writing of a survey: accurate factual information for reference use or the stimulation of a fresh perspective, some sense of a venture into the realms of insight, causality, and historical interrelationships.

Westbrook, Connecticut

OLIVE J. BROSE

FREUD: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT. By *Paul Roazen*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xii, 322, ix. \$6.95.)

WHEN Mr. Roazen became enthusiastic about the potential value of psychoanalysis to his field, he observed with dismay "the relatively backward state" of its use there. He has decided that this is because political scientists, in focusing on Freud's philosophical speculation, have divorced his social thought "not only from clinical psychoanalysis, but from the inner preoccupations of Freud in those social works." Instead of "trying to build bridges immediately from Freud's politics to academic political science," which would be much "too abrupt" a jump, the scholar should keep constantly in mind Freud's clinical conclusions. Roazen actually prefers current concepts of ego psychology, but advises his colleagues to begin with Freud.

The author includes in this work a section on the development of Freud's concepts, indicating the realization that it will appeal mainly to the general reader. For those familiar with that well-trodden road, this chapter may arouse impatience, but flagging interest is likely to revive when Roazen plunges into his subject. He has thoughtfully studied Freud's work and has read widely in the voluminous materials on him. He recognizes Freud's tendency "to go beyond confirmed evidence" when venturing into fields other than his own, but believes that historical inaccuracies should be ignored in focusing on his application of psychoanalysis to social institutions. The author's purpose is to show how this may be done to the advantage of the social sciences in general and of political science in particular. Among the Freudian concepts discussed are the "function of leaders as a collective superego"; guilt, self-preservation needs, and leader identification as the basis for social cohesion; and the polarity between individual fulfillment and the necessity for social coercion.

An intriguing aspect of the book is the author's penchant for turning the floodlight of analysis on the first psychoanalyst himself. Roazen is by no means the first to suggest that Freud identified with Moses, but he contributes interesting speculations on that point. In his epilogue on the "disappointingly bad" study of Woodrow Wilson by Freud and William Bullitt (*Thomas Woodrow*

Wilson [1967]), he finds that Freud identified also with Wilson. Fascinating though such intellectual exercises may be, they may, as the author admits, "lead to dark and murky territory."

Roazen asks for no rigid application of psychoanalytic doctrines; he hopes only for a change in "the way we think about problems." Yet he believes the superego concept to be an important bridge from Freud's work to the social sciences. To the historian he suggests the "extension onto the world-historical plane of a common psychoanalytic procedure." He notes with approval Kurt Eissler's conviction that if one would read the history of a people in the same fashion as the history of an individual, one might, in learning the operative unconscious factors, avoid repetition and thereby "master the past." The author believes Louis Hartz's *Liberal Tradition in America* (1955) to be a successful effort in this direction, and therefore "in the tradition of the methodology of *Moses and Monotheism*." Indeed, Roazen continues, "If the historian is not too put off" by the Moses story or the "disharmony between the historical fantasies and the social insights," he may find in that study the "underlying method for a psychoanalysis of history." Regarding the use of psychoanalytic principles in biography, Roazen concedes that in general the use of the "older psychoanalytic propositions," in emphasizing abnormalities as with a patient, produce a distortedly negative picture. He notes with approval, however, the greater sophistication of the Georges' Freudian interpretation of Woodrow Wilson (*President Wilson and Colonel House* [1946]) over earlier studies. For whatever greater subtlety biographies now have, he believes, "the credit belongs largely to Freud."

The author's thorough scholarship gives strength to his major thesis. Many social scientists are likely to resist it, however, particularly in view of the fact that "the implications of unconscious mental forces," as Roazen acknowledges, are still "at a fairly early stage of understanding." Some social scientists may well feel on more solid ground with Philip Rieff's straightforward analysis of Freud's social and political essays than with Roazen's highly interesting speculations on Freud's "inner preoccupations" in writing them.

Montgomery Junior College

MARY R. DEARING

THE EASTERN QUESTION: THE LAST PHASE. A STUDY IN GREEK-TURKISH DIPLOMACY. By *Harry J. Psomiades*. [*Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, "Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἰῶν, Number 98.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1968. Pp. 145. \$5.00.)

THE final phase of the Eastern Question, in so far as it was concerned with the displacement of and succession to the Ottoman Empire, was played out in the Lausanne Conference and settlement of 1922-1923. In this brief work, Professor Psomiades provides both the specialist and the interested general reader with some understanding of the fundamental factors involved in Greco-Turkish relations. It is fitting, therefore, that he concentrates on the Lausanne Conference and the subsequent settlement, for it was then that the bases for the relationship between Greece and the new Turkish Republic were laid. The author initially sketches a historical background to the central theme by beginning his study

with a consideration of Hellenism, Ottoman imperialism, and the Greek national revival, especially in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Particularly interesting, however, is his examination of the fundamental problems that emerged at Lausanne following the catastrophe in the Greco-Turkish struggle of 1919-1922, namely the problems of Thrace and the Aegean Islands, the exchange of Greek and Turkish minorities (with the exceptions of those in Thrace and Istanbul), and the status of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. The question of Cyprus, the beginnings of which are also sketched, did not, of course, formally arise on the public record at Lausanne; nor was its disposition affected by the settlement.

While Psomiades has his reservations concerning the Lausanne settlement, he well observes that it did lay the foundations for peace between Greece and Turkey during the interwar period and set the framework for constructive relationships between the two countries, so that Premier Venizelos and President Atatürk could work constructively toward the treaty of 1930, and Greece and Turkey could assume a leadership in promoting the Balkan Conferences (1930-1934) and the Balkan Entente (1934). Granted the murky past and the long history of conflict, the author quite rightly suggests that the *détente* that followed Lausanne "was essentially political and dictated by common defense problems" and that it was "a detente between two governments rather than between the two peoples." It is, of course, possible for the one to be prelude to the other.

Psomiades' brief study is based on an examination of the basic documentary materials, memoirs, and other works, along with interviews with Greek and Turkish statesmen. It is well written and well balanced, and it does not engage in fruitless polemics. Rather, it probes into a very important set of problems in the eastern Mediterranean area. The appendix includes excerpts from the Lausanne Treaty, including the protocol relative to the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. There is also an excellent selected bibliography. All students of the Eastern Question during the period 1918-1923, in particular, should become acquainted with this work. What is past is prologue—prologue to other developing problems.

American University

HARRY N. HOWARD

HENRY E. SIGERIST: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS. Selected and translated by *Nora Sigerist Beeson*. (Montreal: McGill University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 247. \$5.75.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF HENRY E. SIGERIST. Edited by *Genevieve Miller*. (Montreal: McGill University Press. 1966. Pp. vi, 112. \$6.00.)

Dr. Sigerist, although not active within the mainstream of professional historiography, may be viewed as one of the more brilliant historians of the present century. It is therefore enlightening to find in his autobiographical writings, most of them not intended for publication, an intimate account of his background, interests, and procedures. Mrs. Beeson states that her aims are to present those writings that provide a self-portrait of her father and to place him within his period. This dual task was difficult, for she had to select from "a vast amount of

material" relating to a very complex career. Yet she has been more successful than might have been expected, presenting in sequence a charming autobiographical fragment on his childhood in Paris; a section, drawn from published sources, on his student days and early teaching in Zurich and Leipzig; and an account of his years in America and of his final return to Switzerland in 1947, which is based on extensive diaries. Mrs. Beeson combines sensitivity and skill both in choosing excerpts and inserting editorial statements essential to continuity. No comment is made on materials excluded, though presumably she considered these minor, repetitive, or irrelevant. One can only wonder, however, if there were not more allusions to colleagues.

The Sigerist whose portrait emerges was a most gifted man with an extraordinary range of scholarship. His interests extended not only "from Bismarck to Beveridge," which would have been enough for many historians, but also from the Greek era to contemporary culture. We are given glimpses of the intensity and system with which he worked, and of how he came to compose his best-known books, notably *The Great Doctors* and *Man and Medicine*. One also senses Sigerist's many-sidedness, combining driving ambition with a warm personality that helped make him so effective as a teacher and an organizer. Outstanding were his contributions to medical history and "sociology" and his efforts to improve systems of medical care.

Sigerist appreciated the international recognition accorded him in both these fields, as shown by the many translations of his works, lectureships, advisory appointments, offers of chairs, and honorary degrees, and he prized the response of devoted students. On the other hand, he was distressed by criticism, in medical circles, of his zeal for health insurance and of his Leftist leanings in general, and he was beset both with internal doubts about completing his work and by anxiety over the state of the world.

In retrospect, one can see that the tensions of Sigerist's later years resulted partly from subjective factors and partly from external circumstances. He was, for example, given to enthusiasms that sometimes led only to disillusionment. In the interest of better medical care, he became an activist while, at the same time, he could not resist academic invitations of all sorts. All of this delayed the work that was to give final meaning to his career—a multivolume, general history of medicine. Recurrent delays and the final inability to complete more than the first volume, partly because of ill-health, were a source of anguish. It is ironic that, in giving up teaching in order to concentrate on the magnum opus, he lost the very stimulus of personal contacts that he probably needed to carry on.

It appears that the versatile physician attempted too much; perhaps he attempted the impossible. In addition, the external circumstances of the Nazi upheaval, of World War II, and of the cold war imposed burdens and tensions that could neither be prevented nor overcome. The wonder is that Henry Sigerist accomplished so much.

So productive was he, indeed, that there was special need for bringing together a record of his works, as meticulously performed by Dr. Miller. The result is a comprehensive, annotated list that includes 27 books in 64 editions and 455 papers, including both major and minor items in many languages. The materials are arranged chronologically and are provided with a numbering system

and detailed index so that the book facilitates any reader's approach. In all these respects the *Bibliography* is a model of its kind. The final touch, a biographical sketch of Sigerist by Dr. Erwin H. Ackerknecht of Zurich, is, despite its brevity, the most complete and most discerning account I have seen. One is prompted by this essay and by the *Bibliography* itself to wish that either Ackerknecht or Miller would undertake a full-length biography of their subject.

American Philosophical Society

RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK

LE SAINT SIÈGE ET LA GUERRE EN EUROPE, JUIN 1940-JUIN 1941.

[Secrétairerie d'État de Sa Sainteté, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale, Number 4.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 622.)

THIS volume, the fourth in a series of published documents on the Vatican and the Second World War, continues the documentation of papal diplomacy that began in the first volume. It could have been entitled "The Fight for Neutrality." (Volumes II and III dealt with the Pope's correspondence with the German bishops and with the religious situation in Poland and the Baltic States, respectively.)

The documents presented here relate in great detail the Vatican's careful policy of impartiality between the Allies and Germany and its attempt to maintain its influence in both camps, which resulted in each belligerent accusing the Vatican of favoring the other. The opposing propaganda machines called the Vatican a Fascist tool, an ally of Freemasons and Jews, a capitalist stooge, and other unflattering epithets.

The Vatican's policy was motivated by humanitarian considerations as well as by local and world-wide commitments of the Church. That it failed in its major aim—an early negotiated peace—does not mean that this policy was wrongly conceived or badly executed. It rather means that moral persuasion, even by an institution as powerful as the Roman Catholic Church, has little effect in time of war.

The documents are in their original language and are printed in chronological order with short summaries and footnotes in French. Also in French is an introductory essay that, based on a topical arrangement of the documents, outlines papal policy for the period covered by the volume. The main subjects are: the position of the nuncios and the appointment of bishops in war zones and occupied territories; the dispute over the broadcasts of Vatican Radio; the attacks on Vatican policy by the Fascist press; the question of the safety of Rome and the political situation in the Balkans; and the neutrality of the United States and Spain.

It cannot be said that this volume measures up to the initial interest aroused by publication of this series, but difficult and important issues of papal policy are still to be dealt with by the editors, and subsequent volumes are eagerly awaited.

Washington, D.C.

GEORGE O. KENT

NEGOTIATING WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS: THE UNITED STATES EXPERIENCE, 1953-1967. By *Kenneth T. Young*. [The United States and China in World Affairs.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1968. Pp. xvi, 461. Cloth \$10.95, paper \$3.95.)

AFTER more than 130 meetings during 13 years, the ambassadorial talks between Washington and Peking, which were begun at Geneva in 1955-1957 and are still continuing in Warsaw, have "become a workable and essential channel for reducing miscalculations, clarifying intentions, and explaining proposals." This Sino-American, slow-motion equivalent of the Moscow-Washington hot line has established its own tradition and procedures, but it has provided only contact rather than actual negotiation. When Chou En-lai at first offered to negotiate, John Foster Dulles turned away; Americans have since raised many topics, but Peking has rebuffed them.

Kenneth Young, former ambassador to Thailand and now head of the Asia Society in New York, traces this Sino-American contact from the Panmunjom armistice talks of 1953-1954, in which he was a participant. He also handled the mechanics of setting up the ambassadorial talks at Geneva, which got started bilaterally as an American "detour around Peking's participation in any summit meeting." Peking wanted to negotiate everything at once, but Washington wanted only to discuss repatriation of Americans and the renunciation of force. The one agreement ever reached in these talks, on the repatriation of civilians, was achieved in a joint communiqué September 10, 1955, after fourteen meetings. It was not wholly honored by the Chinese; each side kept pressuring the other, and, by June 1957, Dulles finally exploded into an unrestrained denunciation of Chinese perfidy. By the end of 1957, twenty-seven months after the repatriation agreement, more than eighty meetings had still not secured the release of *all* American civilians involuntarily detained in China: six out of forty were still there. But, meanwhile, the Americans had made no concessions.

Young's extremely well-informed and judicious discussion of this long and involved sparring match provides round-by-round analyses and summaries. The impasse over the renunciation of force and over Taiwan, Peking's unavailing proposals for bilateral contacts in 1956-1957, the Taiwan and Quemoy crisis of 1958, Washington's initiatives in 1959-1961, and the continuing deadlock in the period 1961-1966, including the nuclear issue, are all set forth intelligibly and with much insight. Since these mutual frustrations represent a nonmeeting of cultural values in the broad sense, Young concludes with a number of perspectives on the "confrontation—ideological, historical, and emotional." He concludes that "diplomacy without force produces a farce, while force without diplomacy can leave a fiasco." He sees no future alternative but "a dynamic bargaining process of adversary negotiations." His whole account underlines the idea that American "forebearance, patience, and perspective" will be very necessary in the Sino-American relations of the future.

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Ancient

THE AWAKENING OF THE GREEK HISTORICAL SPIRIT. By *Chester G. Starr*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xii, 157, iii. \$5.95.)

PROFESSOR Starr's book attempts to show how it was possible for Herodotus to make the great leap forward and to become the first Western historian. This necessitates a reinterpretation of the preceding centuries, with particular attention to the way in which early Greeks regarded the past and to the intellectual tools they developed for testing their conclusions. He regards the two hundred years from 700 to 500 B.C., "perhaps the most remarkable in all Western civilization," as responsible for "the evolution of concepts of space, of time, of political organization, and of human nature which could swiftly result in the appearance of the first historians soon after 500 B.C." These are also two of the most obscure centuries in Greek history. In order to prove his thesis the author tries, therefore, to read between the lines of the early poets and to interpret the inner meaning of contemporary vase paintings and sculptures. But does all this justify a statement such as the following: "When the Greeks came to know the barbarian, they calmly and certainly considered themselves and their customs superior and so took Hellenes as the yardstick for measurement." It is hard for me to believe that the Greeks were quite so complacent so early.

There is another problem: the older civilizations of the Near East might reasonably be thought to have influenced the development of historical writing among the Greeks. Starr avoids this by what he refers to as "a neat paradox, . . ." for "while the Greek form of history owed nothing to Eastern models, the Greeks would not have written history had they not been in contact with the states and cultures of the Levant." While he admits that the Hebrews did write history, he denies any possibility of their having influenced the Greeks; he also does less than justice to Hittites, Assyrians, and others whose historical works might have influenced them. But not even Starr can deny that Greek philosophy began in Ionia, that is, in Asia; he hastens to point out, however, that the rest of the Greek world was ready and "took fire from the first sparks," adding that "the rise of disciplined thought" could be found elsewhere than in philosophy.

When the author actually deals with Herodotus, he makes no effort to trace the steps by which he became a historian, though he dismisses Jacoby's monumental effort to do so as "better in its detail than in its general judgment." For a very different view that was not available to Starr when he wrote, see Kurt von Fritz, *Griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, Volume I (*AHR*, LXXIII [June 1968], 1485).

A short review may be one-sided. Let me say that Starr's remarks about Solon, Pindar, and the early medical literature are of considerable interest, but that the discussion of Hecataeus, Xanthus, and particularly of Hellanicus is disappointing. One last pedantic note: Andromeda was *not* Queen of the Amazons!

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUEDELL S. BROWN

LA NUMIDIE ET ROME: MASINISSA ET JUGURTHA. ESSAI. By Charles Saumagne. [Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines. Fourth Series, Histoire, Volume IV.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1966. Pp. 267. 20 fr.)

THE author discusses the dealings of Jugurtha and the Romans as far as the Mamilian investigation. He asserts that the tribunes regarded Jugurtha's kingdom as a Roman possession of which he was only the caretaker, while the nobles regarded him as an independent ally, and he attempts to explain the struggles of the tribunes and the nobles on this basis. He also would have Jugurtha join the tribunes in the conspiracy (Cicero's word for it) of the Mamilian investigation; he maintains that he thus does something to fill a gap in Sallust's narrative.

Saumagne's remarks on the text of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* are often excellent, for example, his analysis of what Sallust says about the legal relation of Rome and the Numidian kingdom or his reminder that, in spite of what Sallust says, Adherbal got the better part of the kingdom when the Romans divided it. His evaluation of the relation of Masinissa and the Romans at the end of the Second Punic War is useful. He argues well that, by the Numidian rule of succession, Jugurtha, once legitimized, was heir presumptive as being the oldest agnate and that Micipsa had no right to try to set up a trio of kings.

The chief weakness of the book is that the author seems not to know of the modern discussions of Roman politics and often shows a strange conception of how the game of politics was played or makes such remarks as that the nobility was ruined by the tribunes of this time. He speaks carelessly of unnamed annalists and even postulates a "philo-Numidian annalist."

In spite of his not having brought forward evidence, other than inference, that the tribunes and people regarded the Numidian kingdom as a Roman possession, the suggestion deserves consideration. The tribunes might well have asserted that Jugurtha was strictly responsible to the Roman government and that relations with him should not be managed by nobles who regarded him as an allied king under their personal protection rather than as a vassal under the protection of an impersonal Roman government.

New York University

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD

THE EARLY CHURCH. By Henry Chadwick. [The Pelican History of the Church, Volume I.] (Baltimore: Penguin Books. 1967. Pp. 304. \$1.45.)

IN *The Early Church* Professor Chadwick has given us one of the most useful, compact, and factual accounts in English of that institution with which I am acquainted. It almost amounts to a handbook, so packed is it with information. It covers the period from the Apostles through the pontificate of Gregory the Great, that is, about six hundred years. It deals with all the important heresies and orthodox answers, with the development of polity and relation to the state, with the original unity and emerging schism of East and West. The only area that is too sketchily treated is that of liturgy and its concomitants, art and music. All in all, it is an excellent introduction to the six-volume "Pelican History of the Church."

Chadwick does not neglect interpretation, but he always subordinates it to the facts. He is eminently fair with the great deviationists, such as Nestorius, Pelagius, Origen, Cyprian, and others, often indicating how their positions were either misunderstood or deliberately misstated and how many of their doctrines ultimately prevailed under other designations. It is indeed amazing that so thorough a work as this could be accomplished without bias of some sort, but if it is there, which I doubt, it is certainly not immediately apparent.

The volume is not intended for a specialist in the period. Most footnotes are simply amplifications or explanations of the text, not citations of authorities. But it should be an adequate guide for a student beginning study of the period and institution. The index is quite detailed and the bibliography, or "suggestions for further reading," is amply rewarding. The style is easy, with faint traces of humor. One is deeply impressed with Chadwick's delicate command of language (two or three inevitable *Briticisms* occur, but they are not unpleasant). Translations in the text are introduced aptly and are generally presented in the author's own modern English rather than in archaic Edwardian or Elizabethan idiom. This is particularly important in the few liturgical texts that he cites.

It is a good book to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest." Three or four times to the page I found myself underscoring or making marginal annotations, very few by way of question or disagreement. It could be inestimably useful not only to seminarians but also to students in survey courses in European history.

University of Mississippi

ALLEN CABANISS

DIE KIRCHE IN DEN REICHEN DER WESTGOTEN UND SUEWEN BIS ZUR ERRICHTUNG DER WESTGOTISCHEN KATHOLISCHEN STAATSKIRCHE. By *Knut Schäferdiek*. [Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, Number 39.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. vii, 286. DM 48.)

IN this valuable contribution to the history of the early Visigothic kingdom, Knut Schäferdiek seeks to define relations between the Visigothic government and the Roman Catholic Church from the reign of Euric (466-484) until the Third Council of Toledo (589) and the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism. He questions the traditional scholarly view, especially embedded in Germanic scholarship as represented by Dahn, Görres, Hans von Schubert, Ludwig Schmidt, and K. F. Stroeker, that Catholicism stood in sharp opposition to the Visigothic state and even threatened its existence. Using the sparse sources with great resourcefulness but always with scrupulous care, he reaches a markedly different conclusion.

Arguing that discontinuity was the most obvious characteristic of the relationship between the Arian Visigothic state and the Catholic Church prior to 589, Schäferdiek organizes his book around the several changes in the posture of the state toward the church. The story begins with Euric. In striving to create a sovereign Visigothic state, he bent his efforts toward neutralizing the Church as a political force so as to reduce its potential for impeding the establishment of Visigothic sovereignty. Euric was not trying to Arianize the Church; nor did the Church's position deteriorate under his rule. With Alaric II (484-507) came a new orientation: an effort to establish the Catholic Church as a *Landeskirche*

coexisting with the Arian church, to build a "zweikonfessionellen Staat." The disastrous defeat of the Visigoths in 507 and the transplantation of the Visigoths to Spain caused another shift in policy that persisted from 510 to 567. Alaric II's policy was abandoned in favor of one permitting and even encouraging Catholic coexistence. In this atmosphere, the Catholic clergy enjoyed considerable freedom to work at ordering the inner structure of the Church without having to show great concern for political problems or manifesting any deep hostility toward the state. Finally, between 568 and 589 came a new series of shifts: Leovigild's strong efforts at strengthening the state, the revolt of his brother Hermenegild, Leovigild's attempt to end the Catholic establishment and to create an Arian state religion, the conversion of Reccared, and the conscious institution of a Catholic *Landeskirche* by Reccared. Schäferdiek interposes into this story a chapter delineating a like process in the kingdom of the Suevi.

While persuasively marking off the shifts in royal policy and Catholic reaction and thereby effectively challenging the older view of a hostile encounter between the *fides gothica* and the *fides romana*, Schäferdiek discovers a more significant continuity overarching the age. He sees the Visigothic rulers and the Catholic leaders inexorably drawn to the union finally effected in 589. The state needed a *Landeskirche* to establish and sustain its independent sovereignty; the Church needed order and authority so as to carry forth its *cura pastoralis*. Thus the entire setting in the Visigothic kingdom during more than a century was one that worked against an open clash of church and state, against an anti-Catholic policy on the part of the rulers, against a sharp sense of its autonomous rights on the part of the Church. This mutual accommodation prefigured developments highly significant for the future of Spain.

Michigan State University

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

Medieval

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 20. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1966. Pp. xvii, 282. \$15.00.)

THE first five studies in the present volume are papers from the 1965 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," and they constitute a fascinating and most important contribution to the history of cultural exchanges between Byzantium and the medieval West. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century," gives a compact sketch of the background. He traces the artistic relations of the West to Byzantium from the early Christian period, when both realms were part of a common culture: During the Carolingian era Byzantine influence was due to retrospective elements in Carolingian culture as well as to contemporary Byzantine art. By the Ottonian period Byzantine influence was essentially iconographic rather than stylistic, and this was reflected in ceremonial portraiture and liturgical subjects, primarily in miniatures. In the twelfth century Byzan-

tine influence was most intense in Venice and Norman Sicily, but it also prevailed in panel painting throughout Italy. Byzantine painting, with its preservation of the classical tradition, furnished Western painters with models for the human form and for the treatment of drapery. Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," compares the role of Byzantine artistic influences in Italian painting to that of a midwife. Thus, Byzantine art did not retard the development of Italian painting, but constituted an important factor in facilitating its "final climax" and the return to classical and early Christian art.

In the next three essays the authors examine this Byzantine influence by studying specific cases. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," identifies three schools of Latin-Byzantine icon painting—French, Venetian, Templar—and describes how this Byzantine influence came to the West: the return of Latin icon painters from the Levant to the West, the composition of "model books," and transportation of icons to the West. Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth-Century Italian Panel Painting," traces the varying aspects of Byzantine influence on Tuscan panel painting, and Buchthal, "Early Fourteenth-Century Illuminations from Palermo," studies the final bloom of the miniature school of Palermo, where Byzantine influence from the Comnenian and Palaeologan period is evident.

The remaining articles deal with Byzantine archaeology, sigillography, and epigraphy: Mango and Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings"; Rice, "Late Byzantine Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks"; Harrison and Firatli, "Excavations at Sarāḫane in Istanbul"; Grierson, "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks"; Ševčenko, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of Its Inscriptions."

University of California, Los Angeles

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 21. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1967. Pp. xiv, 289. \$15.00.)

SEVERAL of the papers contained in this volume were first delivered at the annual symposium on "The Age of Constantine: Tradition and Innovation," held at Dumbarton Oaks in 1966. A summary of the proceedings by Alfred A. Bellinger appears at the end of the volume. None of the papers is devoted to the problem of Constantine's conversion as such, but it is significant that in one way or another the essays touch upon and illuminate this controversial subject. In all of them the Age of Constantine is revealed to be an age of transition and experimentation in which a new order was born among the relics of the classical world. One is struck, furthermore, by the profound impact made in all spheres of life by Constantine, and by his personal ideas concerning his age and future ages.

In a paper entitled "The Age of Constantine: Change and Continuity in

Administration and Economy," John L. Teall takes a favorable view of Constantine's actions in these spheres. The reign of Constantine witnessed a determined effort on the part of the imperial government to stimulate economic recovery. Constantine's methods were not unprecedented, but they differed from those of his immediate predecessors in that his policies were capable of enforcement and ensured bureaucratic continuity. Johannes A. Straub writes on "Constantine as *Koinos Episkopos*: Tradition and Innovation in the Representation of the First Christian Emperor's Majesty." He investigates the process by which a "mutual accommodation" occurred between Roman state and Christian Church. The Church offered no advice on the execution of the Emperor's duties. Constantine was therefore forced to improvise to adjust Roman institutions to ecclesiastical requirements. His solution consisted basically in his assumption of quasi-episcopal functions. In a suggestive article Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., discusses "The Liturgical Expressions of the Constantinian Triumph" and shows that the Age of Constantine produced no major liturgical innovations; rather, what the author calls "a new accent and a new dimension and support" emerged. The lavish building program of the Emperor emphasized "the historical as over against the eschatological situation of the Church." This "sanctification of the temporal order" was promoted and guided by the institution of a daily office of the study of Scripture and prayer in the imperial palace, and it also underlies the new emphasis on the festivals of the Incarnation, Christmas, and the Epiphany, at least if the controversial problem of their first celebration is answered in favor of the Age of Constantine.

Evelyn B. Harrison's paper on "The Constantinian Portrait," written by a specialist on ancient sculpture, offers much to the historian, as does Richard Krautheimer's brilliant article on "The Constantinian Basilica," which has many points of contact with Shepherd's paper. In the Age of Constantine no standard type of Christian basilica was developed. The basilicas commissioned by the Emperor himself demonstrated his insistence on grandeur and splendor and his desire to emulate the great secular basilicas of Imperial Rome, but local episcopal initiative was allowed much architectural freedom. Irving Lavin's essay on "The Ceiling Frescoes in Trier and Illusionism in Constantinian Painting" will primarily interest the art historian.

Many articles in this volume have no connection with Constantine the Great. Hans E. Meyer, in a long memoir entitled "Das Pontificale von Tyrus und die Krönung der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," describes a Latin manuscript of the early thirteenth century at Siena containing a liturgical manual for the archbishops of Tyre and in particular an *ordo* for the coronation of king and queen. In connection with this hitherto unknown text he discusses the history of royal coronations in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and makes important contributions to the problems of medieval political symbolism and kingship. Romilly J. H. Jenkins and Ernst Kitzinger report on three fragments of a silver cross recently acquired by Dumbarton Oaks, and Cyril Mango contributes a learned note on the date of the birth of the Emperor Michael III and arrives at January 9 or 10, 840.

The rest of the material contained in this volume is archaeological. The work is dedicated to Sirarpie Der Nersessian, and it contains an appraisal

of her career (with bibliography) and memorials on the late Carl H. Kraeling and George Christos Soulis (with bibliography).

University of California, Berkeley

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

BYZANTINE EAST AND LATIN WEST: TWO WORLDS OF CHRISTENDOM IN MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE. STUDIES IN ECCLESIASTICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Deno J. Geanakoplos*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1966. Pp. x, 206. \$6.00.)

IN this collection of essays on the influences of Byzantine culture on the medieval West, Church and state in Byzantium, the Council of Florence, the Greco-Byzantine colony in Venice during the Renaissance, Cretan transmission of Greco-Byzantine culture, and Maximos Margunios (c. 1549-1602), Professor Geanakoplos makes interesting and far-reaching contributions to many aspects of Byzantine studies, especially in his treatment of Byzantino-Italian culture. This is an area in which the author is an acknowledged expert, and his book should be widely read.

Geanakoplos fails, however, to demonstrate the erroneous view that "the emperor was never able successfully to penetrate into the church's inner core . . . relating to dogma and the sacraments." This is a hieratic opinion, held by those whose disapproval of secular control over the Church blinds them to incontrovertible, if often distasteful, evidence. Thus, Geanakoplos refers to the patriarchal approval of the emperor's confession of faith as a condition precedent to coronation, without taking cognizance of the fact that these "coronation" oaths had little influence upon an emperor's subsequent conduct, as can be shown by the reigns of Anastasius I and Leo III, both of whom repudiated their oaths and made "heretical" innovations.

It is strange, also, that Geanakoplos does not allude to the history of *homo-ousion* ("consubstantial"), the pivotal point of the Nicene Creed and perhaps the most important technical term in Christian theology, which was inserted into the Creed by Constantine I, who forced the Council of Nicaea to endorse the word and his exegesis of it. Geanakoplos holds, furthermore, that Byzantine refusal to accept union with Rome in 1439 was partly based upon unwillingness to add *Filioque* to the Creed. But this conclusion ignores the fact, which Geanakoplos should have mentioned, that the Byzantines were not required to make this addition to their own version of the Creed. The emperor was unable to enforce union with Rome because of passionate nationalistic and anti-Latin feeling, not because the people disputed his prerogatives in the realm of dogma.

Geanakoplos' chief error lies in assuming "orthodoxy" to have been fixed *ab initio*, although what we now call "orthodox" dogma was actually worked out by professional theologians, usually under the close supervision of the emperor and in some instances by the emperor himself. Dyotheletism, for example, was unknown to the early Church, and it is unhistorical to treat it as if it had belonged to the received tradition and had been "orthodox" at any time before it was promulgated in 680-681. His bold proposition that "Imperial attempts to interfere . . . in the sphere of dogma were never recognized by the

will of the people, the true repository of the Orthodox faith" cannot be proved, and, where evidence is available, as in the history of Arianism and iconoclasm, it is demonstrably false.

University of California, Los Angeles

MILTON V. ANASTOS

THE EARLIEST LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT, BY AN ANONYMOUS MONK OF WHITBY. Text, translation, and notes by *Bertram Colgrave*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 180. \$6.00.)

THE *Vita Antiquissima Gregorii Magni* completes Colgrave's work of making available all the earliest Latin lives of saints written in England in excellent scholarly editions. The University of Kansas Press is to be congratulated on the book's format, and it is to be hoped that they will keep it in print longer than Cambridge kept the *Vita Wilfridi*. An edition of the *Vita Antiquissima* was much needed, for Gasquet's edition of 1904 was neither easily available nor particularly satisfactory.

The text is difficult to edit, for it survives in only one manuscript, St. Gall 567, which was done by a rather careless scribe. In general, however, the scribe's mistakes (as, *anoscendum* for *agnoscendum*) seem to have been orthographic rather than stylistic, and we can assume that Colgrave has given us the text pretty much as it was composed.

The work is interesting chiefly as a stage in the development of a saint's legend and as an example of the scholarship of Whitby in the eighth century. The author appears to have relied largely on oral tradition. (Some purists may object to Colgrave's use of the word "saga" to describe this body of material.) Although the author and Bede relate some of the same stories about Gregory, neither seems to have known the other's work. In fact, the *Vita Antiquissima* was practically unknown in England, while on the Continent it was used by John the Deacon and, in the ninth century, by an interpolator of Paul the Deacon's life of Gregory. Thereafter it dropped out of sight until it was rediscovered in the eighteenth century.

The number of Biblical quotations and echoes in the *Vita* supports Whitby's reputation for the study of Scripture, but the slight evidence of knowledge of other works indicates a very limited library compared with that of Bede, with whose earlier writings the *Vita* is probably contemporary. Neither does the Latinity of the work justify a high opinion of the author's training in grammar and rhetoric. Whitby was almost certainly more typical of the average Northumbrian monastery of its time than were Wearmouth and Jarrow.

Colgrave's apparatus is ample. For the expert, the historical introduction may seem almost excessive; it will doubtless be welcome to the beginner, however, and all scholars in the period will welcome the careful text and notes.

University of Colorado

J. D. A. OGILVY

LAW AND LEGISLATION: FROM ÆTHELBERHT TO MAGNA CARTA.

By *H. G. Richardson* and *G. O. Sayles*. [Edinburgh University Publications,

History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 20.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1966. Pp. 201. \$8.50.)

ALTHOUGH described on the dust jacket as "a companion" to their *Governance of Mediaeval England*, more accurately this work is largely a condensation of much of that volume (for the period 1066-1216), together with some spirited and plausible animadversions on the pre-Conquest period. The same premises or prejudices enliven both books. For example, "the Normans were without learning, without literature, without written law . . . they continued the system of administration they found in the conquered land." These simple affirmations miss the main point: what they accomplished with the administration they found and how they combined it with a new ordering of the higher ranks of society. Actually, to cite the kind of evidence the authors themselves use to denigrate from the Norman achievement, the London inquest of about 1000 bears approximately the same relation to Domesday Book as Anglo-Norman legislation bears to the impressive Anglo-Saxon legislation during the century before 1066. As they justly observe, *inter arma silent leges*.

Even where there is room for argument on such specific points as confusing manorial and royal tallage, all readers will affirm and appreciate the excellence of Richardson and Sayles's historical scholarship; it may, however, perturb some readers to be presented with interpretations or generalizations that have a characteristic Neo-Whiggish ring. An instance of continuity is "not an unimportant lesson of history"; "the progress of the spirit of humanity" is called to witness in explaining the development of a more rational law and the substitution of "money for blood or broken limbs" in the twelfth century, although the *wer*, *wite*, and *bot* of the earliest dooms characterize the law of what all would agree was "a barbarous land"; the twelfth-century law of marriage is castigated as "repugnant to good sense and good morals—at least as sense and morals are now conceived." Other examples could be cited of an emphasis on continuity, together with a tendency to judge the past by the standards of the present, with no hint that the authors are aware of the internal contradiction inherent in this combination of Whiggish notions.

It is fortunate that, in the present work, these qualities by no means vitiate what is otherwise both a valuable and provocative essay, as well as a most useful beginners' guide to what are the major points in dispute in English legal history before 1216.

University of Minnesota

ROBERT S. HOYT

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN JERUSALEM AND CYPRUS, C. 1050-1310. By *Jonathan Riley-Smith*. [A History of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Volume I.] ([New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 553. \$14.50.)

THIS is the first volume in a projected series on the Order of St. John, commonly known as the Knights Hospitalers. It deals with the history of the order during its formative period, its addition of military functions to an originally exclusively charitable work, and its role as a large and privileged

institution in the crusaders' states. A second volume will deal with the order after its headquarters was moved to Rhodes.

There is need for such a volume. The works of Delaville Le Roulx, Prutz, and King are now out of date. As the author shows in his conclusion, moreover, by contrasting two rather extreme judgments, a favorable one by King (1931) and a hostile one by Grousset (1936), two opposing interpretations of the Hospitalers' activities have existed almost from the beginning. He finds both to be much exaggerated. He has, accordingly, set out in this long, detailed, and fully documented study to explain the history of the order and its functioning as an organization against the background of Levantine conditions. He has an additional advantage over earlier writers in that he has been able to profit by the recent scholarship that has done so much, even in the last decade or so, to illumine the highly complex character of life in the crusaders' states. It is no longer possible simply to list the privileges enjoyed by the Hospitalers, which were so strenuously opposed by the local hierarchy. Each must be examined in a local context with the result that many contradictions emerge. Thus, to quote the author, "it was a great exempt Order of the Church with wide-ranging privileges from the papacy, but in those states where it was most powerful it was never able to exercise these privileges in full."

Since most of the material in the book comes from the thirteenth century, certain twelfth-century developments perforce remain somewhat obscure. The author notes, for example, that military activities were not mentioned in the statutes until 1182. He does not feel that these provisions were added, as is sometimes maintained, in imitation of the Templars, or, indeed, because of any extraneous influence. Rather, as protection for pilgrims, they represented a natural extension of a charitable enterprise. The ever-recurring disputes with the Templars seem to have resulted in part from the espousal of opposing attitudes toward the government of the crusaders' states, the Hospitalers being royalist, the Templars, baronial. But how or why these attitudes originated is still not clear. A section on the orders' medical and hospital work is most welcome.

There are other questions arising out of the material presented here, for the order's activities touched on many aspects of Levantine life. As it stands, this important study seems likely to remain for some time as the definitive work on a great medieval institution. The volume includes an appendix on the possessions of the order, maps, and an extensive bibliography.

New York University

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

THE DOMESDAY GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND. Edited by H. C. Darby and R. Weldon Finn. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 469. \$19.50.)

"The original survey," writes H. C. Darby, "was made in terms of manors, villages and hundreds, but the clerks reassembled the information under the headings of the different landholders of each county. Their work must therefore be undone, and the survey set out upon a geographical basis." The

eventual reconstitution and mapping of the villages and hundreds, which the Domesday clerks "tore into shreds," was a cherished dream of Maitland and Stubbs, and during the past sixteen years the dream has almost been realized through the work of Darby and his associates. *The Domesday Geography of South-West England* is the fifth of a projected seven volumes that will comprise *The Domesday Geography of England*. Each volume deals with a particular district, a relatively homogeneous group of counties. The present work embraces Wiltshire and the four southwestern counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall—a five-shire cluster that seems to have comprised a single circuit performed by one body of Domesday commissioners. The satellite text, Exeter Domesday, was an earlier draft of the returns of these commissioners, and the present volume provides, in Appendix II, an invaluable tabulated comparison of Exeter Domesday and the Exchequer version for the five counties in question.

This volume maintains the same high standard of accuracy and comprehensiveness, the same aversion to unverifiable assumptions, and much the same format as one finds in the four preceding volumes of the series. The feudal returns of Domesday Book are reconstituted, county by county, in terms of economic geography and analyzed under such headings as "Settlements and Their Distribution," "The Distribution of Prosperity and Population," "Woodland," "Meadow," "Pasture," "Fisheries," "Salt-Pans," "Waste," "Mills," "Churches," "Urban Life," "Livestock," and "Miscellaneous." These categories may vary slightly, owing to variations in the kinds of information disclosed in the Domesday sections on different counties, but the pattern generally repeats itself throughout the chapters and the volumes. The splendid maps and tables, too, remain more or less uniform throughout the series. The result is, admittedly, less than lively reading, but one gets a clear picture of the data that can be coaxed from Domesday Book on the subject of local and regional differences in population, agricultural fertility, forms of economic enterprise, customs, institutions, village organization, and numerous other matters. The series contributes immensely to our knowledge of post-Conquest English geography. It is a work of prodigious difficulty and exceptional significance.

University of California, Santa Barbara

C. WARREN HOLLISTER

REGESTA REGUM ANGLO-NORMANNORUM, 1066-1154. Volume III, REGESTA REGIS STEPHANI AC MATHILDIS IMPERATRICIS AC GAUFRIDI ET HENRICI DUCUM NORMANNORUM, 1135-1154. Edited by H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis in continuation of the work of the late H. W. C. Davis. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. Pp. lii, 422. \$40.35.)

WITH the publication of this volume, the project initiated more than a half century ago by the late H. W. C. Davis has been completed under the joint editorship of his son, R. H. C. Davis, and R. A. Cronne. To the acts of the first two Williams and of Henry I contained in the earlier volumes are now added those of Stephen, of his rival for the English crown, the Empress

Matilda, as well as the charters of her husband, Count Geoffrey of Anjou, when acting as duke of Normandy, and those of their son Henry before his accession to the throne of England in 1154. That the assembling of more than a thousand documents for the period 1135 to 1154 in a single volume will be of inestimable value to historians scarcely needs emphasis. Most of the charters have been published previously, but many of them appeared in relatively obscure works that are difficult, if not impossible, to consult on this side of the Atlantic.

The editors have significantly changed the format followed in the previous volumes. It is most helpful that all documents have been printed in full, eliminating the ambiguities that often arise from a calendar. No attempt has been made to list the contents chronologically; instead, they are arranged according to beneficiaries. In view of the difficulties involved in dating Stephen's charters, even those to which the editors have assigned tentative dates, no alternative arrangement comes readily to mind. Although there are useful indexes of persons and places, and of selective subjects, it must be pointed out that this will be a difficult volume to use. Unless the reader knows precisely what he is looking for, a page-by-page search will be necessary.

The introduction contains brief but useful discussions of the governments and of the administrative personnel employed by Stephen and Matilda in England and by Geoffrey and Henry in Normandy. The uncertainty surrounding many of the events of the reign is readily apparent from the number of question marks in the tentative itineraries of the protagonists in the long civil struggle. Here, perhaps, is a point of departure for future investigation. It is quite possible that some, at least, of the conjectural dates can be either confirmed or shown to be inconsistent with known events.

Scholars will find this concluding volume of the *Regesta Regum* to be absolutely indispensable, and it will stand as an enduring memorial to those whose plans are now a reality.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro

JOHN BEELER

DURHAM EPISCOPAL CHARTERS, 1071-1152. Edited by *H. S. Offler*.

[The Publications of the Surtees Society, Volume CLXXIX.] ([Durham: the Society.] 1968. Pp. xvi, 192.)

THE editor has brought together forty or so surviving acta from the episcopal chancery office of Durham during the years 1071-1152. While most have already appeared elsewhere, Mr. Offler hopes that by publishing them in one volume and providing the careful editing that some acta have not received, they will be made "to yield fully what they have to tell about the management of the bishopric in Norman times." Offler has performed his task with admirable thoroughness. He has collected all extant charters, has considered some fifteen that have disappeared but not without trace, and has consulted all literature pertinent to his subject. Whether the volume will contribute significantly to our knowledge of the Durham episcopacy during the Norman period as he hopes, however, is another matter.

This definitive edition might well serve as a model in similar undertakings.

The short explanatory note introducing each document is informative and accurate, a godsend to the hurried scholar who can tell at a glance whether he has need to tarry. The editor gives the location of each document, describes its condition, notes the existence of manuscript and printed copies, furnishes a scholarly discussion of its substance, then identifies all persons whose names happen to appear. Since the names include those of witnesses, as many as two dozen on occasion, with most remaining simply names, one may question the wisdom of the author in so expending what must have been an unconscionable amount of time. Still, he insists that such information will illuminate "the emergence of that honorial baronage of the bishops which was to dominate local life for some generations."

One use the lists of witnesses does serve is that of establishing the authenticity of the charters, a very real problem in the Middle Ages, which lacked our abhorrence of forgeries as intrinsically dishonest. Many good men were not above producing fictitious documents in order to lend legal substantiation to what reason and right appeared to recommend as just. What probably evoked most of the forged charters that the editor examines was the attempt by monasteries to confirm their "control over churches which no one denied in some sense or other to be theirs" but which stood in grave danger of being "curtailed by counterclaims on behalf of bishop or parson or both."

Pennsylvania State University

JOSEPH DAHMUS

GESCHICHTE DRESDENS BIS ZUR REFORMATIONSZEIT. By *Heinrich Butte*. Edited by *Herbert Wolf*. [Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, Number 54.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1967. Pp. x, 309. DM 38.)

Mr. Butte discusses the history of Dresden from the settlement of the Slavic lands east of the Saale River by German colonists in the twelfth century until the Reformation, two decisive events in the history of the German people. The town of Dresden was of modest size and importance during this period: founded before 1206 by Margrave Dietrich of Meissen to protect the passage over the Elbe River, it had a population of only 6,500 people by the mid-sixteenth century. As a center of trade and production Dresden could not rival medium-sized imperial cities such as Muhlhausen or the Saxon towns of Leipzig and Freiberg, but it enjoyed one exceptional advantage that was to mark its future history; after 1270 it was the residence of the margraves, later the dukes and prince electors.

The author has divided his study of Dresden's history into three periods: from the founding around 1200 to the mid-fifteenth century, the second half of the fifteenth century, and the period from 1500 to 1555. In each period the various aspects of town life are carefully investigated: the composition and power of the town council, the jurisdiction, tax system, income and expenditure of the town, the origin and growth of the population, social classes from the ruling merchant families down to the servants, trade, handicraft, and agriculture, the architectural development of the town, the ecclesiastical and religious conditions, the school, hospitals, foundations for the poor, and natural catastrophes such as fires, plagues, and floods. Both the medievalist

and the Reformation historian will find a wealth of interesting information here. Statistical tables occasionally supplement the text. The strong emphasis on social history gives the book a particular color. In spite of much detail, the narrative is fast moving and lucid.

The author, who served as archivist and librarian of the town of Dresden, mastered the archival material and the secondary literature until 1945. The editor of the book has added short and incisive summaries of pertinent literature that has appeared since 1945.

University of California, Los Angeles

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN

THE SEA AROUND THEM: THE ATLANTIC OCEAN, A.D. 1250. By
Vincent H. Cassidy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1968.
Pp. xvii, 202. \$7.50.)

ONE of the greatest needs for those interested in Western European maritime history is to have a book available that summarizes recent scholarly research and knowledge concerning the Atlantic Ocean during ancient and medieval times; for only when we are aware of what was known of this ocean can we understand the later great age of discovery that started in the fifteenth century. Professor Cassidy does exactly this for both the interested scholar and general reader. Beginning in his first four chapters with a summary of Greek and Roman knowledge of the Atlantic, he goes on to deal with early Christian and later Roman contributions to an understanding of this ocean, then with Irish and Scandinavian navigation, discovery, and colonization, and, finally, with what was known in general in Western Europe by the mid-thirteenth century.

In such a short review it is difficult to indicate all the valuable information packed into this slender volume, including, as it does, materials dealing with cartography, navigational aids, types of ships, narratives of various sorts, recent archaeological excavations, and the actual discovery of islands and overseas lands. The recent exciting work on Norse sites in North America and the newly published Vinland map are included in this survey, as are the suggestive comments of Wiener and others concerning the probability of Arab and African contacts with South America in pre-Columbian times. All that can be said is that we can now see that the movement of Western Europeans overseas was not a sudden affair, but rather resulted from long, slow development over many centuries.

It is perhaps ungrateful to wish for more than the rich feast Cassidy has furnished in this volume. But I do wish that he had included a bit more than he has for the southern Atlantic region of Europe. That is to say he might have mentioned the important movement of Genoese shipping and merchants into the Atlantic in the late thirteenth century on a route leading to England and the Low Countries, which caused them to set up colonies in Cadiz, Seville, and Lisbon. This story, told in some detail elsewhere by Verlinden and Parry, would have rounded out the picture of how the new Atlantic age of modern history was born. Despite this omission, however,

the author has favored us with a book that will long be indispensable to any scholar interested in the development of Western European civilization.

University of Texas, Austin

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DAS ÄLTESTE ROSTOCKER STADTBUCH (ETWA 1254-1273): MIT BEITRÄGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE ROSTOCKS IM 13. JAHRHUNDERT.
 Edited by *Hildegard Thierfelder*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 351. DM 45.)

THE potential importance of *Stadtbücher* as sources of German municipal history was initially recognized at the close of the eighteenth century. But competently edited texts of these municipal registers were few until the launching of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1826 promoted the publication of original sources in all fields of medieval history. The pioneering research of Reimarus in Hamburg (1841) and of Lucht in Kiel (1842) were the prelude to a host of studies and publications of the *Stadtbücher* between 1880 and 1930. This work constitutes a notable addition to the series and demonstrates once again the wealth and variety of information to be gleaned from these sources.

The contents of the Rostock register are quite typical. They comprise the record of all proceedings before the city council (*coram consulibus*) and were therefore of an extremely miscellaneous nature. Recognizances of debt, testamentary dispositions, conveyances, and donations *inter vivos* are mingled with items of municipal finance and breaches of the peace. The detailed nature of the records provides the economic historian, for example, with the material for an occupational census in which the dominance of millers, brewers, and fishermen reflects the flourishing trade in grain, beer, and dried fish between the city and Norway and Northwestern Europe. For the social historian the *Stadtbuch* reveals the regional origins and composition of the citizens. Approximately one-half were settlers from the Mecklenburg hinterland, a quarter originated in Rhineland-Westphalia, and most of the remainder were drawn from the coastal strip between Frisia and Lübeck. The interlocking merchant dynasties, which formed a familial network along the south shore of the Baltic, were represented in Rostock by the Brunswiks and the Coesfelds, who were also influential figures in Lübeck, Wismar, Greifswald, and Stralsund. They formed a natural nucleus composed of the merchant oligarchy of *seniores* and *discretiores* which the humbler citizens of Rostock assailed by word and deed during the mid-thirteenth century. The triumph of the oligarchy was mirrored in the changing significance of the term *Bursprache*, which originally signified the discussion of matters of common concern by the general body of citizens. By the fourteenth century it was applied to the ordinances of the city council, which were announced twice yearly to the community.

It is unfortunate that the register leaves in continued obscurity the vexed question of the remoter origins of Rostock, which originally consisted of three adjacent but wholly independent communities on the bank of the Warnow River. These communities were unified in 1262 by a charter of Borwin III, the *dominus terrae*. The scantiness of information on the genesis of the con-

stituent settlements is perhaps a salutary reminder of the extent to which the human and social aspects of the great *Drang nach Osten* have perished or gone unrecorded. By the mid-thirteenth century the heroic age of initial settlement was passing, and the earliest surviving records reveal an organized and viable civic community that was already resenting the excesses of Borwin III's *Vogt* and was reaching out for the alliance with Lübeck and Wismar that sowed the seed of the future Hanseatic League. These records well merit the labor and learning lavished upon them by the editor; they present an invaluable historical commentary on the open frontier city of the Middle Ages.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

LE GOUVERNEMENT ET L'ADMINISTRATION CENTRALE DE L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN SOUS LES PREMIERS PALÉOLOGUES (1258-1354).

By *Léon-Pierre Raybaud*. [Société d'Histoire du Droit.] (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1968. Pp. 293, 30 fr.)

A SERIOUS work, Raybaud's book is the first comprehensive study of the central administrative system of the Byzantine Empire for the period roughly between 1258 and 1354. In its coverage the book ranges from an analysis of the political ideology of the period to the administrative organization associated with the provisioning of, and safety in, Constantinople, the army, the navy, and the dispensing of justice. In between there are chapters on the sources of imperial power, the ways in which that power was exercised, the senate, the people as a political force, the titles, functions, and offices of the imperial bureaucracy. There is also a chapter on feudalism, feudalism in the Western sense, that is, whether or not it existed in Byzantium.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, the administrative structure of the Byzantine Empire for any one of the major periods of its historical evolution is difficult to study. As a result, scholars often disagree on many points. Raybaud takes exception to views expressed by such scholars as Bréhier, Dölger, Lemerle, Guillard, Laurent, Ostrogorsky, and others. There is no doubt that, in turn, Raybaud's conclusions will not all pass unquestioned. But I favor Raybaud's view that political ideas held in the fourteenth century, no matter how deeply they may have been based on those of the ancient Greek world, were not simply plagiarisms: they found expression because the historical context in which they arose "recalled on more than one point that in which they had originally been formulated." This is not the view generally held. I was pleased to note that Raybaud agreed with me that imperial coronation was an essential, indeed, the most important, act in the making of a new emperor and pleased still more to see the study on the subject that I published years ago referred to as "brilliant and penetrating." There also is no doubt in my mind that Raybaud is right in holding that no feudalism in the Western sense of the term existed in Byzantium. On the other hand, I noted omissions and important bibliographical gaps. Relevant works by Grégoire, Ševčenko, Meyendorff, Christophilopoulou, myself, and others do not seem to have been used.

Raybaud has, however, written an excellent book that should prove very useful for many years to come.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

ZIBALDONE DA CANAL: MANOSCRITTO MERCANTILE DEL SEC. XIV. Edited by *Alfredo Stussi*. With studies by *F. C. Lane et al.* [Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, Sez. V, Fondi Vari.] (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla Storia di Venezia. 1967. Pp. lxxvi, 159, 21 plates. \$12.00.)

PROFESSOR Alfredo Stussi of the University of Pisa prefaces his edition of this merchants' manual with a scholarly introduction on its history and content. Nothing is known of the author except that he was a merchant, possibly an ancestor of Nicolò da Canal, who possessed the manual in the early fifteenth century. The original was composed in 1311, and a short addition was made fifty years later. The present edition is based on an early copy of the original and is now the property of Yale University, a gift of Thomas E. Marston, whose description of it is included in the introduction. Professor Frederic C. Lane, well known for his own admirable Venetian studies, has briefly surveyed other merchants' manuals.

The original author displayed his interest in mercantile affairs by giving them two-thirds of his treatise. He gave instruction in various arithmetic calculations in the weights, measures, tariffs, and moneys used in commercial transactions in the cities and countries visited by Venetian ships. He used the question and answer method; unfortunately many of his own answers were incorrect, as indicated by Oystein Ore in a special study on the mathematical problems. The section is highly important, nevertheless, for the economic and social history of Venice. It indicates the most important destinations of Venetian ships and the sources of Venetian imports, gives comparisons between Venetian weights and measures and those of other commercial centers, and offers the always troublesome rates of exchange between Venetian and other currencies. In a brief essay Lane shows how the sketches of the ships found in the manuscript can be used by an imaginative historian.

The remaining folios cover an unusual array of subjects: a fragment of a romance of Tristan, several other fragments of poetry, an exposition of the extraordinary uses of rosemary and several spices, several medical cures, some astronomical and astrological lore. While some items are of dubious value, they all reflect beliefs and practices among the fourteenth-century Venetians.

The volume ends with three glossaries prepared by the editor and twenty-one illustrations of text and textual figures. Though the original manual is not of prime historical significance, the edition and accompanying studies are of the highest quality.

University of Cincinnati

HILMAR C. KRUEGER

ACCOUNTS RENDERED BY PAPAL COLLECTORS IN ENGLAND, 1317-1378. Transcribed with annotations and introduction by *William E.*

Lunt. Edited with additions and revisions by *Edgar B. Graves*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LXX.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1968. Pp. liv, 579. \$10.00.)

THIS is the last volume we shall receive from William Lunt. He devoted his scholarly life to the study of a large topic—the finances of the medieval papacy, with particular interest in England. On his death in 1956 two completed manuscripts remained to be published. Edgar Graves has shepherded them through the press: in 1962 the penultimate *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327–1534*, and now this volume.

It consists of a splendid introduction and some 540 pages of transcribed accounts left by the 6 collectors of papal revenues whose records for this period are preserved in the Introitus and Exitus Registers in the Vatican Archives. The introduction (mostly by Lunt, partially by Graves) gives a brief résumé of the types of taxes levied and of the accounting procedure. It is at its best when telling of the careers of the collectors. The accounts represent another source in the effort to shift the picture of Anglo-papal relations from one of spectacular feuds, parliamentary pressure, and growing nationalism to one of mutually beneficial relationships, sometimes with different ends in mind. The collectors often succeeded in serving two masters, king and pope. They rose in both the English hierarchy, spiritual and secular, and the *Curia*. Their legalistic backgrounds, we learn without surprise, equipped them for an office of financial trust. And, like most men, they tended to die or leave office with arrears unpaid.

The accounts are arranged by collectors and by type of tax or payment. The institution or benefice making the payment is then identified by diocese, since these were the units of actual collection. In addition to a general impression of the magnitude of the ecclesiastical bureaucratic structure, we derive information relating to personnel, revenues, promotions, vacancies, and deaths. The accounts are straightforward, and the vagaries of medieval accounting practices do not figure here. The commissions authorizing a collector to take office, and defining the scope of his activities, are printed. The editorial devices, explained by Graves, are few and clear. Four plates enable us to assess the editor's paleography (and to give it high marks). An index of names and places enhances the value of the work; the 1962 publication was, unfortunately, without this aid. And the American Philosophical Society has maintained its high standards of production and accuracy.

This is a volume of great labor. Part of its value is that it acquaints us with some of the sources, hitherto largely unprinted, that Lunt had to cull for his synthetic works. Part of its value will be determined by the use scholars choose to make of this mine of information about medieval institutional structure and operation.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

JOEL ROSENTHAL

JEAN DE FRANCE, DUC DE BERRI: SA VIE. SON ACTION POLITIQUE (1340–1416). Volume II, DE L'AVÈNEMENT DE CHARLES

VI À LA MORT DE PHILIPPE DE BOURGOGNE. By *Françoise Lehoux*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie. 1966. Pp. 534.)

THE best that can be said of Jean de Berri is that he was a man of good taste. As a man of good taste, he commissioned some of the finest works of art of his time. As a man of good taste, he tried to calm down the unseemly quarrels among members of the royal family that broke out during the tragic reign of Charles VI. The final chapter of this volume carries as its running head: "Berri maintient l'équilibre entre les princes." On the whole, this is a fair appraisal of his policy.

The Duke had, to an alarming degree, the defects of his qualities. He needed vast sums of money to live magnificently, and he put pressure on his relatives and on the King to obtain lands, offices, and gifts. He cared much more for his building program than he did for affairs of state; again and again he would leave court during a critical period in order to supervise work on one of his palaces. When difficult decisions had to be made, he was inclined to waver or to dodge responsibility. As the author says, "ce n'était pas dans son tempérament de lutter." He was almost completely useless as a lieutenant of the King in the South. Yet he was one of the three or four most influential men in France.

This second volume has all the detail on the private life of Jean de Berri that distinguished the first volume. In addition, there is new and extremely valuable material on French diplomacy, especially on French relations with the Avignonese papacy (including the famous withdrawal of obedience). The author must have seen almost every source that mentions Jean de Berri; her work will not have to be done again.

One small point: on page 463, "en armes couvertes" probably means "with full armor," not "with hidden weapons." The Duke of Burgundy was making a show of force, not planning a secret *coup*.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

BIRGITTINISCHE KLOSTERGRÜNDUNGEN DES MITTELALTERS.

By *Tore Nyberg*. [Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, Number 15.] ([Lund:] CWK Gleerup. [1965.] Pp. x, 265. Kr. S. 28.)

THE Brigittine order, or *Ordo Sancti Salvatoris*, which took shape during the last third of the fourteenth century under the visionary St. Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373), remained a predominantly feminine movement. Although representing one more experiment with double monasteries under the jurisdiction of an abbess and regularized under the Augustinian Rule by Urban V, Vadstena and its daughter houses are presented by Nyberg as essentially dependent on the Cistercian tradition in which Bridget had been schooled. A product of Swedish soil during the Avignonese period, the Brigittines spread during the Great Schism and conciliar epoch to German cities, the Low Countries, and England, totaling about thirty houses by the eve of the Reformation. Vadstena, with such associated monasteries as Syon in England and Maribo in Denmark, testifies to the continued vitality of religious life,

whether extraregular, canonical, or monastic in form, in a period of tensions and discord within the Church. The author addresses himself, above all, to the political conditions from which each house sprang and the juridical and constitutional questions within the monastic organism itself, as well as those posed by bishop, territorial lord, and papacy at the time of the foundation of the several houses and their subsequent growth. He underscores the importance of the means whereby official recognition was solicited and what agencies or personages were responsible for securing approbation on both a secular and ecclesiastical plane. The author is particularly concerned with the problems that arose should the monasteries be founded on the domain of the territorial prince, municipality, or cathedral chapter, with special reference to the Hanseatic foundations. Chapter iv explores the relationship of the mother house to the daughter houses and the diverse ways in which varied environment must be approached.

What lends special significance to this order and what is kept in proper focus in this monograph is the dependence of Brigittine houses on urban culture, a decisive factor in determining the growth of the majority of houses, especially in German cities as well as in the Low Countries. If Marienkron at Stralsund was still much indebted to the territorial lord by virtue of his patronage of municipal parish organization, Marienwohlde at Lübeck owed its existence to enterprising Hanseatic merchants. While the Clarisses of Gouda represented interests of the ducal house and a conventional kind of religious life in cities, the Brigittines at Mariensterre are singled out as exemplifying more strictly the "new religion" associated with urban life itself and the ideal of *contemplatio in actione*. One would wish, however, that the social and economic conditions that are often lumped together under the term *Frauenfrage* and that go far to explain the efflorescence of the *beguinages* in these very regions had received greater attention than has been accorded in an excursus on pages 225 to 227.

In short, this is a well-documented work on one of the lesser religious orders, which deserves to take its place in comparative monasticism; it is, however, more concerned with differentiation within the organism itself than with comparison with other orders.

Rutgers University

E. W. McDONNELL

LE COMMERCE MARITIME BRETON À LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE.

By *Henri Touchard*. [Annales littéraires de l'Université de Nantes, Number 1.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 455.)

This study of the maritime commerce of Brittany covers the period from approximately 1375 to 1500. The author has used extensively the archives of Brittany as well as those of other *départements* and of Paris; in addition he has used archival material from Great Britain, Flanders, the Low Countries, Portugal, and Spain. In order to provide some scheme of organization, his material is arranged by quarter-century periods; even so, however, it has been difficult for the author to suggest general trends and developments for it is hard to imagine a portion of Europe caught in a more rapidly changing

political kaleidoscope than was Brittany during this time. Although Brittany tried to follow a policy of neutrality vis-à-vis England and France during the Hundred Years' War and to a degree profited by this role, it generally found itself subject to pressure by first one side and then the other, making its commercial relations most uncertain. After the conclusion of the war, Brittany's traditional "independence" was soon brought forcefully to an end by inclusion in the royal domain of a rapidly expanding France. Although Touchard is not here concerned with the period after 1500, evidently his researches into the later period convinced him that incorporation into France redounded to the economic advantage of Brittany and ended the depressed conditions of the late fifteenth century.

It is difficult to judge the completeness of Touchard's work. Obviously the source material is quite scattered where it has survived at all. The conclusions that he has advanced must be regarded, therefore, as being based on insufficient evidence. Nonetheless, this is a carefully presented compilation of the available data (introduced by a survey of the archival material), and it should provide valuable material for the economic historian of the late Middle Ages.

Rice University

K. F. DREW

A HISTORY OF THE ESTATES OF POITOU. By *Joseph M. Tyrrell*. [Studies in European History, Number 16.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1968. Pp. 162. 24 gls.)

THIS short monograph adds another dimension to the oft-told story of medieval and early modern assemblies of estates in France. Tyrrell has carefully selected an important *pays d'élection*, with the purpose of comparing the vitality of assemblies, which lost the power of the purse, with *pays d'état*, which retained that privilege. The result is a careful study of the origins, functions, procedure, and composition of the estates of Poitou from 1390 to 1651; it is based upon archival and printed sources that reveal a general picture, but are often silent on those questions the author is most interested in pursuing. We discover how meetings of individual estates in the thirteenth century merged into full-blown assemblies of all three estates by 1372. The peak of activity and power occurred between 1411 and 1435, when the estates met almost every year to vote on royal tax proposals. The introduction of royal *élus* and the loss of Poitou's tax-voting privilege about 1435 was, as might be expected, a major "turning point" in the history of the local estates. Tyrrell points out, however, that assemblies continued to meet in a consultative role until 1470 and to present grievances and requests until 1560. That the estates were still active is attested by their occasional convocation independent of the crown and by their successful bargaining against the introduction of the gabelle. From 1560 to 1651 they clung to a precarious existence, meeting only six times and then solely to choose delegates and present grievance lists for the Estates-General.

This book, in essence, contains a qualified acceptance of conventional views on how medieval estates originated, why they declined, and how this led to the fall of an isolated, nonrepresentative monarchy. One cannot criticize an

author for not writing a book he did not intend to write. But it is tempting to suggest that the estates not be torn out of the context of contemporary issues and the byplay between all local corporations and echelons of royal officialdom. The author strays far enough from a narrow view of provincial-royal relations to make one wish he had broken more sharply with traditional approaches and questions. The result might have been a much livelier picture of local autonomy during both the late Middle Ages and the early modern period.

University of Southern California

A. LLOYD MOOTE

RENAISSANCE PHILOSOPHY AND THE MEDIAEVAL TRADITION.

By *Paul Oskar Kristeller*. [Wimmer Lecture XV.] (Latrobe, Pa.: Archabbey Press. 1966. Pp. x, 120. \$3.00.)

THIS analysis of the nature and extent of some medieval traditions that survived during the Renaissance is meant to supplement the author's *The Classics and Renaissance Thought* (1955), but gives both more and less than the title promises. It gives more because it deals not only with philosophy but with scholarship and erudition in a broad sense. The fields covered stretch from grammatical and rhetorical studies to humanist translations and "moral thought," to theology, jurisprudence, medicine, mathematics, occult sciences, logic, Aristotelian physics and ethics, and finally to Platonism with its Neoplatonic tributaries. In each case we are offered a masterly, informed, rapid survey of the accretion and refinement of knowledge from early medieval times to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, often strengthened by fresh observations drawn from Kristeller's inexhaustible experience with the manuscripts. On the other hand, the book gives less than expected because it fails to offer any explanation of why the growth of learning and classical scholarship here described was identical with a change from "medieval" to "Renaissance," as the title has it.

Take the description, typical of the book's procedure, of what happened in the area that we would call, as Kristeller does, humanism. We learn that a long "tradition" of grammatical and rhetorical studies had started in the early Middle Ages and that certain "formal links" exist between medieval and Renaissance commentaries on classical authors, as well as between the medieval use of "*ars dictaminis*" and the subsequent humanist epistolography. Nevertheless, so we are warned, there were "considerable differences": the literary style and terminology changed; "considerable advances" took place in the knowledge of Latin, in the familiarity with ancient works, and in the number of translations (the quality is said to be still *sub judice*) of Greek authors. A "consummate classical scholarship," still unknown to medieval grammarians, was achieved, and, finally, the grammatical-rhetorical approach imposed itself upon other academic disciplines. The essence of change, therefore, here as elsewhere in the book, is seen solely in the advance of learning and, in some cases, in the "impact" of rhetoric and grammar-philology on other branches of scholarship. Nowhere are the concepts of Renaissance and humanism used to

indicate anything like the emergence of a changed pattern or of a new phase of historical development.

This reduction of intellectual history to an account of the progress of learning in a great number of academic disciplines has been a tendency of Kristeller in the past, but now it is defended by theoretical argument. He calls himself a "thorough nominalist in reference to several terms employed in historical discourse" and wary of all historical "generalizations," among which he counts any assumption of "a parallel development" in different areas of historical life (for instance, political or economic history, philosophy, and literature) and even in various branches of scholarship and science. "In my opinion there is no such thing as Science with a capital S, but there is a variety of different sciences, each with its own tradition and historical development." In exactly the same way, his treatment of humanism deals one by one with grammatical studies, rhetoric, Greek scholarship and translations, the moral philosophy of the humanists, and so forth, never touching upon the question of whether these separate scholarly activities formed a whole. Yet, evidently, unless through comparisons of various areas of scholarship and life and consequent "generalizations" certain criteria are established that decide whether and when we may speak of "humanism" and "Renaissance," we cannot give a historical account of these phenomena; we can merely list endless changes in the inherited traditions, labeling them "Renaissance humanism" when they fall between two arbitrarily established chronological limits (1300 or 1350 and 1600, as Kristeller recommends).

The additive listing of facts and this external definition of the Renaissance based upon chronology alone are, indeed, the method that the book expressly calls for and tries to practice. More than one reader will come away from studying it with a grave doubt as to whether history is compatible with the "thorough Nominalism" advocated here.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

LE RÔLE DU SEL DANS L'HISTOIRE. Prepared under the direction of *Michel Mollat*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris—Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 37.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. 334. 25 fr.)

"Salt is still waiting for its historian." Thus runs one of the conclusions to a report on "The European Economy in the Last Two Centuries of the Middle Ages" presented by Mollat, Johansen, Saponi, and Verlinden at the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Rome in 1955 (*Relazioni*, VI, 838). The volume under review shows what is being done in France to meet this challenge. In 1956 a plan for research was drawn up, seminars were instituted at Lille and the Sorbonne, and a special colloquium was held at Paris in 1961. The reports and other communications delivered at this colloquium make up the majority of contributions to *Le rôle du sel dans l'histoire*. They are less ambitious in scope than their collective title might indicate, being limited, for the most part, to studies or notes on the commerce in sea salt in the western Mediterranean region and on the Atlantic routes from Portuguese

and western French ports to Northern Europe. The emphasis is on the late medieval and early modern periods, although there is some coverage of trade and production during earlier and later centuries. Two contributions deal specifically with salt and the fisheries, and, among other miscellaneous topics treated, there are some interesting remarks by Marc Bouloiseau on the usefulness of gabelle records as sources for the economic and social history of eighteenth-century France.

Indeed, the chief value of this book is found in its suggestions for research, notes on archives, and so forth. Also helpful is a revised version of the 1956 plan for research with notation of published works that touch on many of the questions, some of them comparative, broached in the plan. There is, oddly, very little mention of work done after 1961, although this deficiency is corrected to some extent in a summary bibliography at the end of the book. The editor assures us that the studies inaugurated at the seminars and colloquium continue, and he hopes that a résumé of research in France and abroad will appear in the future. This raises the question of the necessity for this rather carelessly and apparently hastily assembled volume appearing some seven years after the event it celebrates, but *Le rôle du sel dans l'histoire* is still a useful work.

University of Kansas

CHARLES K. WARNER

Modern Europe

RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION AND THE OUTER WORLD, 1450-1660. By M. L. Bush. (New York: Humanities Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 387. \$6.00.)

DR. Bush's book, one of the "Blandford History of Europe Series," covers two hundred years of European history in fewer than four hundred pages. The emphasis is on the political and constitutional history of the Western and Eastern monarchies and on the period 1450-1560. Bush has a sharp eye for picturesque and telling detail; his narrative is brisk; his lively, readable book incorporates much recent research. Students will find it a stimulating introduction to the period.

Anyone who has tried to write such a book knows how difficult it is to make general statements that retain the complexity of past experience. When an author is on familiar ground, the simplest generalization immediately calls to his mind half a dozen qualifications and exceptions. On unfamiliar ground the same exceptions and qualifications lurk, but he is confidently unaware of them. Since we all frequently tread unfamiliar ground, the best we can usually hope for is that on balance truth will outweigh error. Bush is weak on art history and insensitive to the history of ideas. In statements like these, "Until the twelfth century the ideas of the Greek philosopher Plato formed an essential part of medieval philosophy and theology," or "The close connection between the Baroque and the Counter-Reformation was expressed in the first example of Baroque architecture which happened to be the Jesuit church of *Il Geon* in Rome," or in a reference to the "elegant, exclusive neo-platonism

which [Leo X] acquired from Poliziano," the balance favors misunderstanding rather than enlightenment. Chapter vi, called "Renaissance and Reaction," develops a variation of the Counter Renaissance theme. The thesis was untenable in its original form; it is no more convincing here.

On the other hand, the more numerous and more important chapters on political history are admirable. In them judicious generalizations link in a lucid, balanced, persuasive argument, and Bush effectively says many good things about kingship, the aristocracy, the nature of government, "new monarchy," representative institutions, the price rise, war and society, and much else. The balance is favorable, and Bush scores high.

The book has illustrations (mostly portraits), useful maps, an index, and suggestions for further reading, almost all of the works listed being exclusively in English. Such lists are positively damaging. Even beginners should be made aware that reading only in English will disastrously stunt their knowledge of the period.

Columbia University

EUGENE F. RICE, JR.

THE SHADOW OF THE CRESCENT: THE RENAISSANCE IMAGE OF THE TURK (1453-1517). By *Robert Schwoebel*. (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf; New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 257. \$12.95.)

THIS work is primarily a survey of European responses, political as well as literary, to the Turkish advance into Europe between the fall of Constantinople and the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. Its melodramatic title is therefore not accurately clarified by its subtitle; Mr. Schwoebel seems rather more interested in what Europeans did, or tried to do, or planned to do, or said they wanted to do about the Turk than in their "image" of him. This interest gives him some opportunity for vivid narrative, and he is also quite effective in describing, summarizing, and paraphrasing a wide range of sources, both familiar and obscure. His book is less satisfactory, however, as historical argument. His evidence may suggest, as he contends, that Europe was more widely concerned with the Turkish peril than has been commonly believed. He has, however, given too little heed to the danger in taking the rhetoric of words and gestures at face value, and he therefore claims too much. He argues, for example, that a general anxiety about the Turks revived European loyalty to the waning ideal of a united Christendom under papal leadership in the fifteenth century, and thereby "contributed to postponing the Protestant revolt." While this proposition may contain a small grain of truth, it seems chiefly, in this instance, to reflect the unbalanced perspective common to tunnel histories of this kind. In addition, the tunnel Schwoebel presents for our inspection seems arbitrarily lopped off at both ends. The conquest of Constantinople may have sent a particular shock through some parts of European society, but the event itself came after decades of Ottoman expansion and, as Schwoebel himself is aware, was by no means the origin of European concern, even over this phase of the expansion of Islam. And if there is merit in associating militant action against the Turks with the revival of Catholic universalism, the story should be followed at least through the Council of

Trent, the crusading zeal of the Counter Reformation, and the Battle of Lepanto.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

THE SPIRIT OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION: THE BIRKBECK LECTURES IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY GIVEN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE IN MAY 1951. By *H. Outram Evennett*. Edited with a postscript by *John Bossy*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 158. \$6.00.)

THIS series of lectures is not a history of the Counter Reformation but a characterization of its spirit. The first chapter is a historiographical review culminating with the conclusion that the movement deserves only in part to be called "counter" since its origins antedated the Protestant Reformation. The main locus in the sixteenth century was Spain and Italy, with some influx from the Netherlands. In the seventeenth century leadership shifted to France. The movement was intimately connected with the rise of new monastic orders, and much of the tone was set by the spirituality of saintly women.

The next chapter deals in greater detail with the characteristics of this spirituality. Admittedly it was stimulated by the rivalry with Protestantism and driven to center on the conservation of the universality of Christendom. With respect to the Renaissance, the author finds a certain affinity because the vitalism observable in the secular world in such figures as Columbus, Cortes, Michelangelo, or Henry VIII found its counterpart in religious leaders, whether Luther or Loyola.

A chapter on the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola traces the stages in the saint's religious development. The *Exercises* are marked by flexibility and practicality, which found their expression in such activities as missionary endeavor, education, and nursing. The Jesuit requirement of absolute obedience was not new. The emphasis upon it was in line with the centralizing tendencies of the age. The Church moved toward papalism. The *Curia* was reformed to expedite its processes. The bishops were enjoined to devote themselves to their pastoral duties.

The conclusion is that in the sixteenth century the Catholic Church, deprived of its medieval monopoly, adapted itself under unwelcome pressures to the conditions of postmedieval society and the permanent presence of religious competitors. The reinvigoration of the religious life was a part of the new vigor of European life in the sixteenth century. The editor has added a section on the course of scholarship in this area since the delivery of these lectures fifteen years ago.

The factual information imparted is highly illuminating. The suggestion that history exhibits periods of intense vitality with the emergence of titanic figures in every area of human endeavor, including religious, political, economic, and others, makes one wonder whether a historical determinism might lie behind this account. Would the author, then, pass no value judgments on a

Pope Julius II or a Martin Luther? He is singularly impartial, and I am not sure how he would have answered the question.

New Haven, Connecticut

ROLAND H. BANTON

NUNTIATURBERICHTE AUS DEUTSCHLAND: NEBST ERGÄNZENDEN AKTENSTÜCKEN. Second Series, 1560–1572. Volume VIII, NUNTIUS G. DELFINO UND KARDINALLEGAT G. F. COMMENDONE, 1571–1572. Compiled by *Johann Rainer*. (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., Ges. M. B. H. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 298. Sch. 296.)

THIS volume concludes the Second Series of the *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, a project begun in 1891 under the auspices of the Austrian and Prussian Institutes in Rome and designed in its entirety to cover the eventful years 1533–1585. The present status of all three series is described in the introduction to this volume. To generations of scholars the progress of this impressive edition of ecclesiastical documents in the fields of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation has been a matter of keen interest.

The present volume contains the dispatches of the nuncio at the Imperial Court, Giovanni Delfino, to the Holy See from May 24, 1571, to May 11, 1572. Relevant papal documents are included. Since only about two-thirds of the dispatches and very few of the papal briefs have survived, the editor has bridged the gap by including Delfino's correspondence with Cardinal Legate G. F. Commendone during the latter's mission in Poland, keeping him informed of developments at the Court of Maximilian II.

These documents highlight the issues that made for strained relations between Emperor and Pope: Maximilian's duplicity in religious policy in the face of Tridentine reform, his aloofness in regard to joining the Holy League against the Turk, his strong opposition to Pius V's conferring upon Cosimo I the title of grand duke of Tuscany. To the Protestant threat in Austria must be added the encouragement given them in nearby Poland as a consequence of King Sigismund's announced intent to divorce his queen. This correspondence reflects the European-wide involvement in these issues and the impact of such critical events as the victory at Lepanto on October 7, 1571, and the death of Pius V the following May. Not without interest are incidental references to extremes of weather conditions, high prices, and the ravages of the plague.

A brief introduction contains biographical data on Delfino and Commendone and a bibliographical statement concerning the sources used. The text is amply supplemented in footnotes. A critical commentary on the substance of the documents in relation to the larger historical setting is to appear separately in a forthcoming publication. One could wish for a return to the practice of including this important feature in the introduction to the volume itself.

Historians are deeply indebted to a succession of editors who have persevered against almost insuperable odds in producing this valuable edition.

Smith College

LEONA C. GABEL

CORRESPONDANCE DU NONCE EN FRANCE GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASTELLI (1581-1583). Edited by *Robert Toupin, S. J.* [Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae, publiés par la Faculté d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de l'Université Pontificale Grégorienne et l'École Française de Rome, Number 7.] (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne; Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1967. Pp. xv, 599.)

THIS seventh volume of the "Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae" affords an opportunity to call attention, long overdue, to a most important scholarly project. The correspondence between the papal nuncios in France and the popes' secretaries in Rome has now been published for the years 1535-1551, 1581-1586, 1601-1604, 1639-1641. Five additional volumes have so far been announced, three of which will be in direct sequence with those already published. These documents from the Vatican Archives will be of great interest not only to students of ecclesiastical and political affairs, but to those investigating the social, economic, institutional, and intellectual history of France and the papacy in the early modern period.

Castelli, whose correspondence is published in the most recent volume, was an ardent reformer and disciple of St. Charles Borromeo. As one might expect, he played a crucial role in the continual, always unsuccessful, effort to obtain the promulgation in France of the decrees of the Council of Trent. In addition, he intervened in a number of sharp conflicts between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Although he was less experienced on the political scene, his letters yield substantial information on the events of this relatively quiescent period in the French Wars of Religion, especially on the activities of the King's brother, Alençon.

Following the established format of the series, the book is introduced by an extensive essay providing useful biographical and institutional background, plus a topical discussion of the major diplomatic affairs of Castelli's nunciature. The correspondence itself is presented chronologically in the original Italian, each dispatch preceded by a summary of the contents in French. While I am not personally familiar with the originals of the Castelli documents, I have every reason to believe that the high standards of textual accuracy have been maintained. From the inception of the series, however, it has been the general policy to substitute brief summaries for the full text of many parts of the correspondence that are deemed to be of minor importance. In view of the age and often poor condition of the manuscripts, to say nothing of the impossibility of easy recourse to the originals, Father Toupin urged that the letters be published in their entirety. His efforts were only partially successful, but it is gratifying to note that the number of deletions is significantly smaller than heretofore. It is to be hoped that future editions will abandon so regrettable a practice and provide the public with the integral text of this invaluable series of documents.

Carleton College

ALFRED SOMAN

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Eugene N.*

Anderson and Pauline R. Anderson. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 451. \$10.00.)

THIS book assumes without closely examining the great social change that occurred as Europe industrialized, and it studies the innovations this change forced in government structure and personnel in the major continental states. Beginning with a model of absolutist government, the authors can note a substantial evolution in government form during the nineteenth century, but they also claim that changes were introduced grudgingly and inadequately; in 1914 the state, still quite traditionalist, had not kept pace with society.

The chronological and geographical sweep of the book is a major strength. Central Europe is stressed, but the student of Spain or Russia will find much that is interesting. Jumps back and forth in the nineteenth century cause problems, for the over-all sense of evolution is not translated into a clear periodization. The recognition of common political problems is valid, however, and it permits the authors to avoid conventional national treatments in favor of a more basic statement of how governments worked. The book is full of useful information. The section on local government should be read by any social or political historian of the period, and chapters on civil liberties, bureaucracy, and suffrage laws are excellent. The summaries are far from superficial; we are informed, for example, about systems of licensing newspapers and controlling local distribution as well as the constitutional provisions on liberty of the press. The book is based on wide reading, and it is important.

There are some major difficulties: Many factual errors, on matters as important as the political loyalties of the Italian lower classes in 1912, mar the presentation. A book so ambitious inevitably omits important topics, and I found the failure to discuss military and police structure most damaging. These problems should not distract from the authors' accomplishment. More important are several inadequacies of basic approach. The authors are aware of the need to get beneath statements of political structure, but they too rarely do so; we do not learn enough about how governmental units actually functioned and how they affected ordinary people. Severe limitations on the power of French town government are noted, for example, but there is no recognition that a vigorous industrialist could, as mayor, take important steps in matters like education and arouse considerable political interest in the process. Political experience, similarly, is treated too exclusively in terms of formal governments; the role of unions or chambers of commerce is scarcely noted, and as a result the degree and manner in which various groups gained political interest are not fully explained. The concept of class used in the study is oversimple. The authors present valuable information on the results of training on bureaucrats, no matter what their origins, and on the differences between businessmen and professional people in politics, but in their general statements they stick to undifferentiated middle classes and aristocracies.

Finally, though this must of course be debated, the concept of political modernization seems inadequate. This is partly a matter of tone. The authors follow the American tradition of trying to see where Europe went wrong, starting with a nasty old regime. Terms like police are judged by American

standards, so that we are surprised when businessmen required police authorization for many ventures. It is difficult now to be so confident in American values as guides to political modernization; often, indeed, one must wonder whether the goals set for political society to be modern have ever been realized. Modernization, in this book, means constitutions, parliaments, local self-government, and civil liberties above all. The proliferation of government functions and of professional bureaucracies is judged in relation to these presumably basic factors. Hence French government, in 1914, was more modern than German. And, in Europe, modernization was impelled by industrial change; it could not precede it though in specific passages the authors note many occasions when it did. This simply does not take adequate account of the difference between traditionalist old regimes of the Austrian type and efficient regimes of the Prussian variety.

If much remains to be done, not only in the gathering of facts about the relations between government and society but also in developing appropriate general concepts, the book provides a valuable starting point. What it says is vital to an understanding of the nineteenth century, and, where it fails, it points to some of the most pressing tasks for historians of the period.

Rutgers University

PETER N. STEARNS

VENETIA REDEEMED: FRANCO-ITALIAN RELATIONS, 1864-1866.

By *John W. Bush*. ([Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 160. \$6.00.)

SMALL but impressive and significant, this book, the product of exhaustive research in the archives of France, Italy, Austria, and Great Britain and all available published materials, grapples with the important question of the failure of a French-Italian alliance in the 1860's, which has generally been attributed to the Roman question. The author demonstrates most convincingly that Franco-Italian relations between 1864 and 1867 centered on the Venetian question. He has said everything that can be said about the role of Venetia in European diplomacy in the period of the Austro-Prussian War. He concludes that the whole procedure by which Italy obtained Venetia and failed to get the Trentino embarrassed and embittered the Italians and prepared the way for the failure of French policy in Italy when France's great moment of truth came. The book is honestly written. Where evidence is lacking, the author frankly admits that his carefully reasoned conclusions are only tentative.

Napoleon III probably made a personal commitment to Italy about Venetia when the September 1864 convention was negotiated. As the war clouds gathered between Prussia and Austria, pressure in Italy to obtain Venetia increased. Efforts were first made to purchase it and then to secure the territory in return for compensation to Austria at the expense of Turkey. Austria refused to go along with such an exchange, perhaps largely out of fear of Russian opposition. The author concludes that Napoleon III did not want an offensive and defensive alliance between Italy and Prussia but only a harmless pact of friendship. Napoleon's indecision and careful scheming by Constantino Nigra, Italy's great ambassador at Paris, convinced the Italian government that France

approved an Italo-Prussian alliance. Napoleon unwittingly delivered Italy into Prussian hands and gave Bismarck the alliance he needed in fomenting his crisis with Austria. The French Emperor then sought unsuccessfully to make the alliance inoperative by arranging a European conference. Napoleon's price for neutrality in the Austro-Prussian War was the cession of Venetia and a voice in future changes in Italy. If Sadowa forced Austria to withdraw troops to Vienna and allowed Italy to occupy most of Venetia and the Trentino, the armistice of Nicholsburg freed the Austrian soldiers to force Italy to give up the Trentino. Serious points of friction developed between France and Italy over the transfer of Venetia to Italy. Napoleon wished Italy free of Austrian control, but had misgivings about the consolidation of Italy into one state. Key agreements are contained in the appendixes.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

HANDBUCH DER EUROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE. Volume VI, EUROPA IM ZEITALTER DER NATIONALSTAATEN UND EUROPÄISCHE WELTPOLITIK BIS ZUM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. Edited by *Theodor Schieder* with the collaboration of *Rudolf von Albertini et al.* (Stuttgart: Union Verlag, 1968. Pp. xvii, 655.)

THIS is the first volume to appear in a seven-volume series which, when completed in 1971, will cover the history of Europe from late antiquity to the present. The format of the present volume is reminiscent of the well-known *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte* by Bruno Gebhardt. The publisher contemplates other such multivolumed handbooks dealing with German and European social and economic history. These will help fill some of the gaps in the present series, the emphasis of which is primarily political.

The present volume is divided into two parts, dealing respectively with general European developments between 1870 and 1918 and with events in each individual country during roughly the same period. Of the two sections, Part A, contributed by Theodor Schieder, is by far the more interesting and original. The author at the outset deplores the predominantly nation-oriented approach of traditional historiography and calls for a more comprehensive and meaningful way of writing European history. To practice what he preaches, Schieder then treats such general themes—population growth and economic development, constitutional policy, political movements and parties, international organizations and movements, and perspectives of European culture—in comparative, Europe-wide terms. This often gives new meaning to known trends and events. About half of the first section is devoted to international affairs, and there is an excellent chapter on European expansion, along with an admirably full treatment of World War I. The bibliographies and notes throughout are rich and up to date, including some references to work still in progress.

Part B, comprising two-thirds of the book, is less rewarding. Each of the (then) Great Powers is treated by an expert: Germany (Karl Erich Born), France (Rudolf von Albertini), Great Britain (Paul Kluge), Russia (Georg von Rauch), Austria-Hungary (Adam Wandruszka), and Italy (Ernst Nolte). The

remaining "small fry" of Europe, some sixteen countries, including the Ottoman Empire, are treated more summarily. Among the longer and better chapters are those by Richard Konetzke on Spain and Portugal and by Gotthold Rhode on the nations of Southeastern Europe.

Given the eminence of most of the authors, some of the contributions in Part B are disappointing. There is less emphasis than in the earlier section on economic and social developments, and there is little mention of literature and the arts. Some of the bibliographies are thin and dated. The index is helpful, as are also occasional statistical and genealogical tables. The book could do with more of such visual aids as well as with some maps. Despite these shortcomings, however, this is a useful reference work and, in its first part, a stimulating contribution to the fruitful rethinking of recent European history along comparative lines.

Yale University

HANS W. GATZKE

ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1917-1921. Volume II, BRITAIN AND THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR, NOVEMBER 1918-FEBRUARY 1920. By *Richard H. Ullman*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1968. Pp. xix, 395. \$10.00.)

THIS second volume of Richard Ullman's admirable and indispensable study of Anglo-Soviet relations is based largely on primary sources, and it carries the story forward from the time of the armistice until early 1920. As Ullman made clear in his first volume, plans for the dispatch of British forces to the Russian front were based originally on the idea of military advantage and necessity. So long as the war continued and a claim could be made that Germany would be adversely affected by Allied operations in Russia (or that Germany stood to gain in the absence of such operations), there was a large incentive to accept intervention. With the war over, the question arose as to why all Allied activity on the Russian front should not cease at once.

Ullman reviews the arguments that were advanced to justify a continued policy of intervention. Arthur Balfour was the first to sound the note that Britain and the Allies had called anti-Bolshevik forces into being; honor required that obligations thereby incurred should not be repudiated. Others, including Lord Curzon, spoke of the necessity of assuring the exercise of some British political control over Transcaucasia; the interests of the Empire required Britain to concern itself with this area. The most ardent advocate of continued intervention was, of course, Winston Churchill. Appointed to the War Office at the end of 1918, Churchill emerged as the chief spokesman for the view that Bolshevism constituted a threat to the peace of Europe and that a commitment of substantial Allied force would quickly bring about its decline. Lloyd George never accepted Churchill's arguments. He doubted that the British people were prepared for such adventure and questioned whether the Russian people were interested in Allied assistance. If Lloyd George had had his way, military intervention would have been quickly terminated.

That it was not indicates the strength of the opposition to him, not so much within his own cabinet as among Conservative backbenchers and, very import-

antly, in high military and political circles in France. When, in addition, the anti-Bolshevik armies of Kolchak and Denikin began to make major advances and it appeared that Lenin's regime might indeed collapse, there was new incentive to think of how the Allies might assist their "friends" in Russia. Talk of recognizing Kolchak as the leader of the government of Siberia seemed not at all unreasonable. All such dreams vanished in June 1919 when the Red Army began its successful offensive against the White Armies.

Ullman's work is important because it destroys many of the myths that have developed about the nature of British policy in this period. Thus, for example, Ullman refuses to see the political issue as a battle between Churchill and Lloyd George. Such a view, he argues, vastly exaggerates the influence of Churchill and largely ignores the opinions of the Conservative members of the coalition. While a number of ministers were prepared to support a modest intervention, no one thought that anything on the scale recommended by Churchill was feasible or desirable. It was on the Conservative back benches, Ullman reports, that Churchill found whatever support he was looking for; Lloyd George knew better than to question that opinion too openly. With the collapse of the White Armies, Lloyd George felt sufficiently confident of his position to urge again the necessity of restoring peace in Russia. His Guildhall speech was so vague that it could be interpreted in many ways. For those who cared to hear, however, the signals were clear—the time had come to seek an agreement with the Soviets.

Ullman's second volume tells of relations considerably less complex than those described in his earlier volume. Except for men like Churchill and Foch, few considered the stakes in Russia to be very great; almost no one believed that the security of the nation depended on the Bolsheviks being displaced. This did not mean that it was politic to say publicly that one intended to regularize Britain's relations with the Soviet regime. More time had to elapse before that could be safely said. Ullman's work is a major contribution to the diplomatic and political history of the post-World War I era.

Brown University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

FRANCE AND THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS 1935-1936. By *Franklin D. Laurens*. [Studies in European History, Number 7.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1967. Pp. 432. 58 gls.)

PROFESSOR Franklin D. Laurens has written an exhaustive monograph on Pierre Laval's assistance to Mussolini in Fascist Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, a debatable collaboration. The book is a tribute neither to the wisdom nor to the virtue of the two Latin friends, but rather to Laurens' industriousness in collating material from a vast and impressive bibliography.

A historian can easily make the case that Laval as Foreign Minister, in amiably giving the *Duce* ambiguous intimations of a "free hand" in absorbing Ethiopia through the Rome Agreement of January 7, 1935, did not so much prepare the way for Italian cooperation in meeting what ultimately proved the common menace of Nazi Germany as undermine collective security and whet Fascist and Nazi appetites for more aggressions. Laurens does not view the problem this way. He appears to fall back on the assumption of "inevitability."

In describing the failure of the French and British Parliaments to appreciate the subtleties of the Hoare-Laval plan for carving up Ethiopia and serving it to Mussolini upon a League of Nations salver, Laurens writes: "The scheme advanced by [Laval] and Hoare for ending the Italo-Ethiopian conflict . . . not only failed to stop the war, and in its failure discredited the League, but also convinced Mussolini that he should carry the war through to a victorious conclusion. . . . Italy was well on the way to a *rapprochement* with Nazi Germany. The Italo-Ethiopian War went on apace, and [Laval] had lost his job. Viewed in an objective light, his policy cannot be viewed otherwise than as a failure. But in all fairness, it must be stressed that no other policy was possible for a France half-paralyzed by fear of Germany."

Was France really "half-paralyzed by fear of Germany" in 1935 and 1936? If so, and the point is very moot, then it could have resulted in part from the revelation that France had as its Foreign Minister a politician so Italophile and so sympathetic to Latin Fascism that he would be Mussolini's accomplice in flouting the sanctity of treaties and the guarantees of the Covenant of the League of Nations upon which the entire French legal position had rested since 1919. Laurens suggests that, if only France and Britain had followed through with sympathetic aid to Mussolini, there might have been no embarrassment over the Hoare-Laval plan; the farcical League sanctions against Italy might never have been invoked; Italy might have maintained the Stresa front against Germany; the Ethiopians would have capitulated sooner and more lives would have been spared; and Hitler—what? Stopped in his tracks? Such emerges as the book's implicit, but largely unconvincing, thesis.

University of California, Los Angeles

JERE CLEMENS KING

STALIN, HITLER, AND EUROPE. Volume I, THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR II, 1933-1939. By James E. McSherry. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1968. Pp. vi, 308. \$10.00.)

THE study of Soviet foreign policy has peculiar difficulties. First, documentary evidence from the Soviet side is, as Mr. McSherry points out, very scanty indeed, and the Soviet record has to be reconstructed from the published documents of other countries. Second, there is the temptation to try to draw lessons from the past about how the Soviet government is likely to behave in the future, lessons based upon the assumption that there is something unusual or even sinister about Soviet diplomacy. McSherry has not been immune to the latter temptation, as when he writes of Soviet policy toward Japan in the summer of 1938: "Moscow adopted what must now be recognized as some of the standard tactics of Communist diplomacy (State Department and Central Intelligence Agency, please note)," and he proceeds to list the tactics used.

For the most part, however, this book is a sober attempt to illustrate from material now available the way in which Stalin pursued his aim of getting Britain and France to resist German aggression, while at the same time making sure that the conditions under which this would occur would be such as to assure Soviet neutrality. McSherry does show that it would be wrong to see a sudden *volte-face* in Soviet policy either at the time of Munich or

in March or August of 1939. Since Stalin could not be certain how Germany or the Western Powers would in the end behave, he could not commit himself to either side until the last possible moment—hence, the parallel negotiations and the inevitable charges of duplicity.

It would have been easier to follow the argument if McSherry had tried to plot the whole course of negotiations from the viewpoint of Moscow instead of dealing with Japan, the Poles, the Western Powers, and the Germans in separate chapters. It is also curious that he did not spend more time on Soviet-Czech relations before Munich since they are documented to some extent and are crucial to his argument.

The placing of the footnotes at the end of the volume is awkward for anyone trying to see what new material is being considered, and the absence of an index is inexcusable in what purports to be a work of scholarship. McSherry makes some slight errors in handling the British characters in his story; Eden was Lord Privy Seal and not a parliamentary Undersecretary at the time of his Moscow visit in March 1935; the name of the British admiral who went to Moscow in the summer of 1939 was Plunkett-Erne-Erle-Drax, and to call him Drax throughout is misleading; Mr. William Strang, another visitor to Moscow that sad summer, was eventually raised to the peerage as Baron Strang of Stonesfield, not as Baron Stonesfield.

All Souls College, Oxford

MAX BELOFF

THE UNFOUGHT BATTLE. By *Jon Kimche*. (New York: Stein and Day. 1968. Pp. 168. \$5.95.)

JON Kimche, a well-known military correspondent for the British press, has entered upon military history more directly than in his previous analyses of intelligence failures in this provocative study of the reasons for the refusal of France and Great Britain to rescue Poland in September 1939. Dedicated to "the importance of dissent," even from the views of his mentor, Sir Basil Liddell Hart, Kimche attacks the then influential Liddell Hart school of a defensive strategy. Instead, Kimche argues that a Western Allied offensive against Nazi Germany was perfectly possible, not to say necessary, to save Poland in the late summer of 1939.

In what he calls the legend of Anglo-French unpreparedness, Kimche asserts that the French Army had mobilized more rapidly than had all the other belligerents, including Germany, in the last week of August, and that French superiority over the German Army, which was inadequately shielded by the still incomplete fortifications of the Siegfried Line, amounted to at least three to one. Kimche fails, however, to discuss adequately the 1914-style mobilization structure of the French Army, let alone its lack of any offensive doctrine or of the resultant numerous armored divisions in the German pattern. Nor does he make very clear the psychological reasons for the impotence of the Allied offensive, his statistics of their numerical superiority notwithstanding—a common enough American failing today for that matter. The wild overestimation by each side of the impact of strategic bombing in 1939, of course, neither builds up nor detracts from Kimche's case since, contrary to general belief, each

belligerent feared the consequences of strategic bombing in almost the same measure, and, given the prevailing military technology of 1939, each side reacted to this fear almost equally unnecessarily, so far as operations in Western Europe were concerned.

If Kimche's explanations for Allied offensive inaction prove more journalistic than profound, his fundamental argument that the Allies could nevertheless have delayed, if not prevented, the German conquest of Poland is valuable and helps reveal the actual motives for war on the part of Britain and France at a time of exceedingly difficult ideological, strategic, and psychic readjustment in the West.

Drexel Institute

TRUMBULL HIGGINS

WRITINGS ON BRITISH HISTORY, 1901-1933: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM ABOUT 400 A.D. TO 1914, PUBLISHED DURING THE YEARS 1901-1933 INCLUSIVE WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING A SELECT LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN THESE YEARS ON BRITISH HISTORY SINCE 1914. Volume I, AUXILIARY SCIENCES AND GENERAL WORKS; Volume II, THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1485; Volume III, THE TUDOR AND STUART PERIODS, 1485-1714. [Royal Historical Society.] (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. 605; 347; 547. \$16.75; \$10.00; \$13.50.)

To say that these three volumes contain 19,523 entries is to register only part of the achievement, even though, as must immediately be noted, owing to duplication under two general headings, there are many fewer titles. Two more volumes, covering the years 1714-1815 and 1815-1914, are scheduled. *Writings on British History*, 1934-1945, is already available in seven volumes. What has been accomplished in the volumes considered here stuns the reader. They list relevant foreign works, journal articles published abroad, and books and articles published in England and Wales (other than those issued by societies). In addition, reviews in scholarly journals are often included with the listing of books. That there are omissions and inconsistencies needs no emphasis; the marvel is that so much has been included. Years have gone into preparation; outlooks have changed; new bibliographies have become available. The whole project is a monument to the Royal Historical Society and more particularly to the planner and supervisor, H. Hale Bellot, who courageously takes full responsibility for the final arrangement. The topical divisions throughout are standard, and each volume has a full index of names and places. In addition to the content cited in its title, Volume I lists bibliographies and archives and historiographical works, including notices of individual historians.

Although the reader will use these volumes primarily as tools, he may notice considerable variety in the number of entries for each category, which he would, of course, expect, as well as shifts in the number for different periods. Such shifts are, to be sure, less a surprise than a confirmation. Some comparisons, nonetheless, are revealing, even though editorial variations in

categories nullify precise judgments. As one would expect, the entries increase in number as we approach modern times. Those for the years 450–1066 occupy 44 pages, those for 1066–1485, 176 pages. Biography, put separately, gets 33 pages for the whole period. In the pre-Conquest years ecclesiastical titles equal political, military, legal, constitutional, and social ones; cultural history equals constitutional, legal, economic, and social ones; local history is scanty. In the following period, 1066–1485, constitutional and legal, economic and social entries increase enormously, whereas ecclesiastical entries increase at a much slower pace and political ones scarcely at all. Local history and foreign and military affairs get much more attention than earlier. During the Tudor-Stuart years political, constitutional, and legal topics match those in economic and social history, both substantial, and ecclesiastical entries increase very little over the previous period. On the other hand, cultural entries exceed each of the first two categories. Military and naval titles mount considerably, foreign affairs not so much. Biography triples in space for this period over the previous millennium. Local history gets somewhat more attention, but the Empire is exceeded in space only by biography. Concern with Scotland, as one must expect, mounts steadily through the years. The whole survey achieves greater historiographical meaning when studied in conjunction with the appropriate essays in *Changing Views on British History* (1966). What then would be informative—a nice little chore for a class in bibliography and method—would be to plot the shifts in topical emphasis and methodological approach throughout the years 1901–1933. I would appreciate a copy.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

HERALDS OF ENGLAND: A HISTORY OF THE OFFICE AND COLLEGE OF ARMS. By *Sir Anthony Wagner*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1967. Pp. xxvi, 609. \$60.00 postpaid.)

THE English Heralds' College, whose history is learnedly recounted by the present Garter King-of-Arms, seems to owe its survival and its corporate personality to the extraordinary genius displayed by leading individuals, at crucial periods during its long career, in devising new functions for heraldry to perform. As the late chivalric world in which their art took shape destroyed itself in the civil wars of the fifteenth century, the heralds ensconced themselves in London, not Westminster, at a point strategically situated between the efforts of the city and the court to maintain the rituals of national pageantry. As the habit of employing heralds on diplomatic missions declined under the Tudor Henries, the college reconstituted itself to carry out the office of visitation—approving and registering the claims to arms, pedigrees, and gentility made with unending fervor and determination in a social structure notoriously fluid within its limitations. But it is characteristic of English history that visitation did not become a bureaucratized public function, and that the approval and registration of gentility did not become an organized monopoly of the crown and its Kings-of-Arms. The history of the college is therefore as elusive as that of English social status itself.

At moments the essence of this history seems to lie in the association

between heraldry and the growth of antiquarian scholarship, attested by such names as Camden, Dugdale, Ashmole, and Anstis. There is a sense in which John Anstis the elder (1669-1744) is the figure about which this whole history turns: not only because he was, as we are told here, "a great and insufficiently valued scholar," but because his powers of intrigue, staggering even by the standards of Georgian officeholding, were directed toward finding the college new *raison d'être*. He appears more or less to have invented and established the Order of the Knights of the Bath with a view to finding the heralds (and his own family and clients) new things to do, and, at a time when visitations were at last discontinued, he and his protégé, enemy, and successor Stephen Martin Leake pioneered the second transformation of the college into a nationally approved office of genealogy.

Garter Wagner, to give him the title proper to his office, has written a history from a point of view located steadfastly within the college itself. Though he is aware of, and contrives to be highly suggestive about, the relations of his microcosm to the macrocosm of the history of the English status system, he has not used the former as a peg on which to hang generalizations concerning the latter. No doubt this was wise, but one regrets the lack of an external perspective. It would have been valuable to be kept informed of how the College of Arms and its functions appeared in other men's sight.

Washington University

J. G. A. Pocock

PACKHORSE, WAGGON AND POST: LAND CARRIAGE AND COMMUNICATIONS UNDER THE TUDORS AND STUARTS. By J. Crofts. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 147. \$5.00.)

WITHOUT the historical imagination that helps one to think oneself into the mentality of a past period and a good store of factual information to provide groundwork for such thinking, we frequently attempt to interpret historical events without sufficient regard to the actualities of life as it was then, and there, lived. This little book provides just that kind of valuable information regarding the particular subject with which it deals: land carriage and communications in Tudor and Stuart England. "Communication" as used here does not carry the semipsychological meaning often given it today, but refers simply to the means of communicating information, oral or written, private or public, official or unofficial, from one place to another.

In his *Carriers Cosmography* (1637), John Taylor, "the Water Poet," informed Londoners where and on what days of the week there would be "posts, carriers, waggoners, and higglers" departing for Bath, York, and other centers in the shires. Much of what Crofts tells us here about the work of these men and conditions affecting it would be taken for granted by Taylor's readers: the bad roads, the slow pace, the almost inevitable delays and uncertainties, not to mention possible dangers. They would also have known about "footposts," "horse relays," "bye letters," and many other such matters carefully explained here.

The book is chiefly descriptive, but it is written with an observing eye

and contains a wealth of detailed information drawn from a wide range of sources. The author is also sensitive to change and development when such occur. His story of the growth of the letter post from a government-financed instrument chiefly for its own use to a nationwide system of public service that became itself a source of revenue, with an account of the social effects that accompanied it, is the high point of the book. He has a few good pages about the advent of the coach and its eventual use as a status symbol. The treatment of social phenomena is, however, not always convincing. One does not quarrel with his claim that "the English wealth and English power, English law and English genius" that flowered in London under Elizabeth fostered national unity, but to say that "here were the beginnings of a social sense that ignored the old class distinctions" is surely open to question. There was much social mobility, but none was more eager than the *new* men to hold on to class distinctions. It is, however, a useful, informative, well-written book that will give those who work in the period a better appreciation of one phase of their surroundings.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

HENRY VIII. By *J. J. Scarisbrick*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 561. \$10.95.)

PROBABLY no other English king looms so large in the popular imagination as Henry VIII, and few offer more important and more interesting problems to the historian. Yet Henry has been strangely neglected by historians; it is well over sixty years since A. F. Pollard wrote the last major scholarly life of the King. Mr. Scarisbrick has more than made up for these decades of neglect. He has written a very distinguished biography that is, however, very different in almost every aspect from that of his predecessor. Indeed, a comparison of the two books offers an interesting commentary on the whole shift of historians' perspectives in the last half century. Pollard's life of the King was one of a series of biographies by the founder of modern Tudor studies which, taken together, provided an extended interpretation of the early Tudor state. The life of Henry was not one of Pollard's best books; the King did not engage his imagination as Wolsey did, and the royal biography is certainly inferior to that of the cardinal. Absorbed in a vision of the early Tudor epoch as the seedtime of the secular nation-state, Pollard tended to view the King as an instrument of larger, impersonal, historical forces. The result was an extended essay in political history rather than the study of a personality.

Scarisbrick has reversed Pollard's order of concern, beginning with the man himself, Henry Tudor, and working out from the royal person to the wider ranges of his historical environment. His judgments on that environment are careful, fully informed, and never superficial. The king who emerges in these pages is a willful egotist, intelligent but not an intellectual, spasmodic in his close attention to public business but capable of a driving energy when aroused to the effort. He is seen as indifferent to the humanist community that made so much of him, yet responsive to their impetus in his religious ideas. Both Wolsey and Cromwell shrink into agents rather than initiators.

The cardinal loses much of the stature Pollard assigned to him in the making of English policy; even his papal ambitions are ascribed to his royal master's aims rather than to his own. But Wolsey becomes a more sympathetic and statesmanlike figure than in Pollard's portrait, more moderate and humane in his ambitions than Henry and with a clearer sense of English limitations. The King, indeed, is revealed as a latter-day Charles the Bold, seeking for himself a conventional chivalric fame on the battlefield while his foreign policy, if it can be dignified by that name, was no more than a fitful revival of Lancastrian dreams of continental conquest. He is very unlike the consistent and statesmanlike shaper of grand policy who appears in R. B. Wernham's recent study of Tudor foreign policy. The detailed narrative and full documentation of the present work make it the more convincing of the two studies. Scarisbrick's Henry is, in his younger years, a somewhat flawed prince, endowed with energy, will, and intelligence, but incapable of rising beyond the most conventional impulses and highly personal goals of a late medieval dynast. But the complexities of his personality emerge in the author's account of Henry's response to the very difficult problems posed by Wolsey's failure to win papal assent to the divorce. Here, the King emerges as a ruler who fully grasped the essentials of royal supremacy and the whole Erastian conception of the state at the very outset of his campaign against the papacy. The years from 1529 to 1533 are seen as a period during which definitive action was held up not by royal uncertainty and indecision but by the necessity of chivying a reluctant aristocracy and a hostile clergy toward radical change that the sovereign had already determined upon.

Scarisbrick has made his case very persuasively and with great thoroughness although the evidence is rarely full enough to make it totally unassailable. The chapters dealing with these years will probably evoke more debate among historians than any other portion of the book. The metamorphosis of this conventional-minded, spasmodically energetic prince preoccupied with masques and sports into a single-minded royal revolutionary ruthlessly reordering a whole polity is almost as startling as that of Prince Hal. It is made all the more baffling by the King's relapse, after 1540, into his old habits of expensive but profitless military adventures in Scotland and France. Scarisbrick has exploited the limited evidence with skill and penetration and presents a plausible explanation of these transformations; yet the incongruity between the late medieval dynast and the sharp-sighted, coolheaded *politique*, fit master for such a servant as Thomas Cromwell, remains unresolved.

The book is rich in a scholarship that carries us well beyond the limits of our previous knowledge and understanding of Henry's complex career. The brilliant, learned, and very lucid essay that sorts out strand by strand the tangled skein of canon law surrounding the divorce will win the gratitude of all historians of the sixteenth century. In another area, the all-important one of Henry's theological convictions once he became Supreme Head, Scarisbrick has made a very well-documented and convincing reinterpretation of royal policy. The King is seen as much less orthodoxly Catholic than in almost all previous studies, indeed as a rather thoroughgoing Erasmian, both in his religious opinions and in his robust laicism. These chapters go a long way

toward reshaping our understanding of the English Reformation in its very beginnings.

It should be clear that this is a book of signal importance, based on the most careful scholarship and enriched by searching and often original judgments. The tone throughout is one of cool detachment from the subject of the biography, and there is great care not to force Henry's career into any preconceptions about the character of the age or the development of English institutions. It is, therefore, a little surprising to find in the final chapter an assessment of Henry very much along the lines of traditional moral condemnations of the King. His failure to live up to the expectations of contemporary idealists—particularly his pointless wars, paid for by monastic spoil that might better have served learning or piety—is held up for reprobation. The charge is without doubt justified, but it is made within a framework of assumptions that do not quite fit the generally neutral and morally detached tone characterizing most of the book. It may be that the final chapter could have been devoted to a fuller recapitulation and reassessment of Henry's personality and career that might have subsumed the problem of his moral failure. But this is not a major flaw in a biography of great distinction, which reorders our view of the early Tudor world.

Harvard University

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

JOHN ROGERS: TUDOR MILITARY ENGINEER. By *L. R. Shelby*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 182, 29 plates. \$12.00.)

JOHN Rogers was a master mason whose skills as a draftsman and planner of fortifications so impressed Henry VIII that he made him Surveyor of Works. Rogers had a hand in fortifying Hull, Guînes, Boulogne, and Ambleteuse.

This book is a study of Rogers' work. It can scarcely be considered a biography since almost nothing is known about the man's character, except that he apparently said what he thought and made enemies accordingly. As for his career, the picture has too many bare spots to be satisfying. We may infer that Rogers advanced on merit and depended directly on the King's favor. We also get glimpses of Henry VIII's enthusiasm for forts and indications of his shrewdness in selecting and rewarding his servants. Social and administrative historians, however, will find the book disappointing. For this the author is not to be blamed. Obviously such matters interested him, but his effort to track down biographical material yielded regrettably little.

Much of the book reports on the author's detective work in identifying certain drawings, many of which are beautifully reproduced. Although the account is clear, the material best suits the tastes of art historians. The chapter on "John Rogers as a Military Engineer" is more generally useful; it is a well-written and informative essay on the changing nature of fortifications in this period.

All in all, this is a work of careful scholarship; the flavor of Tudor England comes through. And, taken as a whole, the book makes a persuasive case for the author's claim that the new developments in draftsmanship and engineering

pioneered by the Italians were being absorbed by the English more quickly than has been commonly supposed.

Princeton University

DANIEL A. BAUGH

REFORMATION TO INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: THE MAKING OF MODERN ENGLISH SOCIETY. Volume I, 1530-1780. By *Christopher Hill*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1967. Pp. 256. \$6.95.)

PANTHEON Books, whose list is beginning to appear more and more as big business' nod to the New Left, now offers us a new two-volume interpretive social history of England: the first volume, here being reviewed, by the Master of Balliol; the second, still promised, by E. J. Hobsbawm of London. Some reviewers would rush to describe anything by this provocative partnership as a "new Marxist interpretation." The authors may so consider their efforts, but such ambitions are neither explicit nor implicit in Mr. Hill's text. In place of a formal system, we have the highly personal ruminations of an extremely erudite and opinionated scholar on English social, with a dash of economic, history from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Intellectually, the book belongs to the ever-green traditions of Tawney and the Hammonds. With no statistical tables, no graphs or charts, and no maps, it should be very popular.

Hill's essay, though allegedly introductory, can be most warmly recommended to advanced students already familiar with relevant modern scholarship. The author has read and absorbed almost everything. The fascination for the reader lies in watching the selective "processing" of this vast erudition by a highly individual mind and a committed spirit. The book cannot, unfortunately, be equally recommended to beginners. It is occasionally highly allusive or over-distilled; more relevant, Hill makes little effort to distinguish between facts, scholarly consensus, and his own hobbyhorses. When modern scholarship is lacking or tends not to support a thesis, a broad generalization may be made to hang on a sermon. A beginner might not catch the evidentiary shakiness of a sermon nor the economic illogic of a sentence such as, "The switch to pasture, at a time when urban populations were increasing, sent food prices rocketing." (In fact, the economic logic of ley husbandry in the sixteenth century lay in the effort to increase outputs of highly profitable meat, dairy products, and other such things for urban markets.)

The underlying emotional "logic" of the book, as of so much that is now being written by the Neo-Hammondians, is that what is commonly called progress, or increased productivity for economic history, is really a snare of the selfish and a delusion of the fatuous because, whatever aggregative gains can be measured, some groups somewhere can be shown to have suffered. (One wonders what Stalin would have thought of the Hammonds.) Its explicit argument is that "The seventeenth-century revolution [*sic*] gave rise to revolutions in trade and agriculture which had far-reaching effects on the whole of society [and which] . . . prepared for that take-off into the modern industrial world which England was the first country to achieve." This appears to be Marx stood on his head. It is also a thesis rather difficult to criticize

because Hill is not consistent or clear in his use of the concept "the seventeenth-century revolution." Sometimes he seems to mean those political events of 1640-1641, which ended Stuart conciliar government; at other times he suggests all the political upheavals between 1640 and 1689; and, at still other times, he implies everything that happened in the "revolutionary decades" between 1640 and 1700 or 1714. But the last formulation merely means that the England of George I was rather different from that of Charles I, and all "ages of transition" can be called "revolutionary ages" to suit the individual taste. The earlier simpler formulation of the thesis raises very important questions of causation about which few are prepared to be as certain as Hill. Most available data suggest, for example, substantial economic growth in the reign of Charles II. But was that because of, or in spite of, the political upheavals of 1640-1660?

University of Michigan

JACOB M. PRICE

ELIZABETH THE FIRST, QUEEN OF ENGLAND. By *Neville Williams*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1968. Pp. xii, 386. \$8.95.)

IN his preface to this new biography Dr. Williams points out that there has been no full-scale life of Elizabeth for a generation, and that, in the interval, much scholarly work on the reign has appeared. And so he promises us "a new synthesis; a reinterpretation of Elizabeth Tudor in the light of recent scholarship and of new evidence." As a biographer Williams is competent enough. He knows the sources, and he has mastered the secondary literature (though Elizabeth Jenkins' lively *Elizabeth the Great* has no place in his bibliography). He has a smooth style, and he tells the familiar story gracefully and well; it is, however, still the familiar story, covering much the same ground as Sir John Neale's great biography and demonstrating that recent scholarship has not seriously altered the picture of Elizabeth the Queen given to us in that remarkable book.

This book is court history, and Williams' camera is trained squarely on the Queen. In a way this is a pity, because he is at his most interesting when he broadens his focus, as in his chapters on the workings of the machinery of the court and especially on the religious policy of the first half of the reign. Toward the end of this chapter, there is a promise of a discussion of Whitgift's regime and his policy toward Puritans, a promise one wishes Williams had fulfilled.

Williams shares one regrettable tendency of English historians of the Tudor period: he is imprecise about Scotland, which is unfortunate, given the importance of Mary in Elizabeth's story. It is venial, though anachronistic, to refer to "the Edinburgh of Knox and the Covenanters" standing aghast at Darnley's alcoholism; it is more serious to mention the Lennox claim, such as it was, to be heir presumptive to the Scottish throne after Mary while ignoring that of the Hamiltons, which causes Williams to miss the significance of the Arran marriage proposal: Elizabeth's acceptance of Arran would have led to the deposition of the absent Mary, then Queen of France, and joint rule over the whole island. Williams' worst blunder is the flat statement that Elizabeth would make Mary her heir if Mary married Leicester, about whose relations with Elizabeth the author is discreet—or undecided. All Elizabeth promised

was that she would give favorable consideration to Mary's claims, as Cecil's letter to Moray and Maitland, which Williams himself quotes, makes clear: "Let not your negotiations, full of terms of friendship and love, be converted to a matter of bargain and purchase." Precisely because Elizabeth would not bargain with the succession, Mary wed Darnley and started down the road to Fotheringhay.

This is a competent book that is enjoyable to read, and it has the advantage for scholars of full documentation, which Neale eschewed. Sir John's biography, however, still heads my reading list.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

MAURICE LEE, JR.

PRIVY COUNCIL REGISTERS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Reproduced in facsimile. Volume I, 1 JUNE-31 OCTOBER 1637. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1967. Pp. 336. \$8.64 postpaid.)

It is probably true that shortages of both publishing funds and scholarly patience have now become so acute that the photographic facsimile reproduction of important English administrative records is the best and perhaps the only way of making them available to scholars and students who cannot themselves come to the Public Record Office. It is sad to see the end of the old printed *Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, 1547-1631*, less so to see the discontinuing of the more recent microopaque card series of the 1631-1637 *Privy Council Registers*. The new and present form of the *Registers* offers clear advantages as well as disadvantages. Some may regret the lack of notes, extensive indexes, and editing, and the special difficulty of reading a possibly unfamiliar and often indistinct seventeenth-century secretarial hand. But others will consider that editing and even in some cases simple transcription may involve choices, decisions, and interpretations of the original with which not every scholar might agree, and that even extensive indexes have limitations. In addition, those who have worked with the documents themselves know that expert photography often makes the copies more readable than the faded originals. And so scholars may rejoice that the *Registers* are again to be made available and now at a price that they, as well as their university libraries, can afford. Their students may find with a little practice that seventeenth-century handwriting is by no means so obscure as it first appears and that the new facsimile series is fully as useful as the older printed transcripts. And they will soon agree that the facsimiles preserve the special quality or character of the originals in a way that print never could. The contemporary marginal notations and headings, the brief contemporary indexes to be included in volumes projected but not yet published, and the printed Victorian subject index do, or soon will, aid the task of the researcher considerably.

Volume I, covering the period between June 1 and October 31, 1637, includes some important and interesting entries. There are records of the usual Privy Council dealings with London "soape-makers," "starch-makers," and "brick and tyle makers," of passports granted, of warrants for appointments, and of notices to sheriffs, mayors, corporations, and the Warden of the Cinque Ports. There is

much concerning shipping, muster rolls, and the repair of churches and cathedrals, and a long list of "Things Desired by the City of London." There are numerous records of the meetings of the court of "Starr Chamber," which reveal the wide scope and constant activity of that court in these important months. But perhaps most interesting, the volume includes a list of assessments for the 1637 "Shipp money," specifying the contribution in tonnage, men, and money expected from each English and Welsh county and town for the kingdom's defense, a useful indication not only of royal policy but also of the comparative assessed wealth of the various districts of the realm.

In all, the *Register* tells much about the broad interests, responsibilities, and powers of Charles I's Privy Council in this period of "Personal Rule," or from another point of view "Eleven Years Tyranny," when the grievances, problems, and official concerns of a busy, prosperous, and troubled England were largely the council's to answer, solve, and direct. The series is important, and its revival in this convenient, exact, and inexpensive facsimile form is to be welcomed and commended.

University of Illinois, Chicago

CAROLYN A. EDIE

THE CIVIL WAR. RICHARD ATKYNS, edited by *Peter Young*; JOHN GWYN, edited by *Norman Tucker*. [Military Memoirs.] ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1968. Pp. xi, 129. \$5.00.)

EDWARD COSTELLO: THE PENINSULAR AND WATERLOO CAMPAIGNS. Edited by *Antony Brett-James*. [Military Memoirs.] ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1968. Pp. xix, 172. \$6.00.)

THOMAS MORRIS: THE NAPOLEONIC WARS. Edited by *John Selby*. [Military Memoirs.] ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1968. Pp. xiii, 137. \$5.00.)

BOTH British military historians and the reading public at large will be indebted to Peter Young and Longmans for their new series of military memoirs. Judging by these first examples, the plan is to reissue interesting autobiographical accounts that have long been out of print and unavailable. Each of these initial volumes of "combat narratives" is deserving of a wider audience. These memoirs present not the tidy view of the general's map table but the limited and confusing perspective, from saddle and trench, of the field officer and foot soldier. There is less here of strategy or even the tactics of the small unit than the feel of battle, the routine of campaign life, and the normal hardships of the soldier's existence, all vividly described. The two memoirs of the Civil War are by Royalist officers who had fallen on hard times after the Restoration. The selection from *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns* (1669) provides a minute picture of the western campaign of 1643 by a commander of a calvary troop in Prince Maurice's regiment. The *Military Memoirs* of John Gwyn, written about 1680, and first published in 1822, is the rather rambling and confused autobiography of a Welsh captain who served throughout the Civil War, in Scotland, and later with the Royalists in Flanders. The two men are nicely contrasting types: Atkyns, the Puritan, practical and propertied, and Gwyn, the restless gentleman-adventurer and irreconcilable, closer to the stereotype of the Cavalier.

The two nineteenth-century accounts are as rewarding as *The Letters of Private Wheeler* or the *Recollections of Rifleman Harris*. Edward Costello's *Adventures of a Soldier* is the autobiography of an Irishman who served as a foot soldier in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo with the Ninety-fifth Rifles. This somewhat truncated edition eliminates Costello's later adventure in Spain when he served in the Carlist Wars. Thomas Morris, a Cockney infantryman in the Seventy-third, fought in northern Germany in 1813-1814 and again at Waterloo. Unlike Costello, who accepted the system as he found it, Morris resented the deference paid to fashionable regiments and was openly hostile to the officer corps ruled by aristocratic patronage and connection. The editors provide each memoir with helpful explanatory notes and useful indexes and appendixes of persons and military units.

Richmond College, City University of New York

S. J. STEARNS

REVOLUTION POLITICKS: THE CAREER OF DANIEL FINCH, SECOND EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, 1647-1730. By *Henry Horwitz*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 305. \$10.50.)

NOTTINGHAM was the only man of inflexible principle who survived in seventeenth-century English politics; other Tory peers, like Rochester and Danby, made a pretense of consistency, sufficient sometimes to deceive posterity but not their contemporaries. Yet in Nottingham's case moral inflexibility was not, as it so often is, a sign of intellectual inferiority; he was at the same time one of the most unyielding and most intelligent of contemporary statesmen. He was intelligent enough to realize in the Exclusion crisis that Parliament had a right to alter the succession if it chose; he was also intelligent enough to acknowledge that in 1689 William III *was* the King, leaving aside the question who *ought* to be King, and the fact that he took the oaths to the new government was decisive in accommodating the Church party to the Act of Settlement. In the same way his opposition to the Peace of Utrecht, involving even a reconciliation with the hated Junto, gave the Tories another bridge by which they could cross over into the Hanoverian epoch. That this bridge collapsed was not his fault.

Professor Horwitz has wisely resisted the temptation to give Nottingham full biographical treatment; instead, he has written an outline of his career and strung on it a series of essays that illuminate important aspects such as the Revolution or the Hanoverian succession. This sounds trifling and incomplete, but it is not; it enables him to play down those aspects of Nottingham's career that have already been covered, notably his relations with the navy, and focus his attention on others, the result being a complete picture of the active career of an important politician. He has made full use of the English archives, and his most important single find is Nottingham's political papers from Burley-on-the-Hill, now in the Leicestershire Record Office, which contain a draft for an autobiography covering his early years and notes and outlines of many of his most important speeches in the Lords. He ends with an analysis of Nottingham's parliamentary "connexion" which ties in with his other research into the structure of party under William III and Anne.

University of Hull

J. P. KENYON

COURT AND COUNTRY 1688-1702. By *Dennis Rubini*. (London: Rupert Hart-Davis. 1967. Pp. 304. 63s.)

IN *Court and Country 1688-1702*, Dennis Rubini analyzes the political contests of William III's reign in terms of government versus opposition. He recognizes that there were Whigs and Tories and that they were sharply divided, but he considers the division between Court and Country to be more significant, and he focuses on the attempts of the independent Country members to limit the power of the government over the proceedings of the Commons.

The period after the Revolution saw a powerful drive in this direction. The Country opposition tried and ultimately succeeded in limiting the duration of Parliaments to three years. It sought to limit the number of officeholders in the Commons and to limit the yearly grant of funds so that the Court could not avoid annual meetings of Parliament. It tried to influence the direction of foreign policy, opposing the war with France and even impeaching leading ministers who supported that policy. After the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 the opposition forced the government to disband troops it had hoped to keep in service, and it objected violently to William III's grants of forfeited Irish estates to his favorites.

These were the most explosive issues of the reign, and Rubini deals with all of them. The result is a work that repays study. The author has done extensive research in a wide range of sources, especially the manuscript materials only recently made available, and his account of the series of confrontations between government and opposition is meticulous. Without a thorough knowledge of the period, however, the treatment can be confusing, as the same sessions of Parliament are gone over repeatedly in different chapters, though with the focus on different issues. The author does not do much to help the reader since, aside from the introduction, there is little sustained commentary, not even a concluding section of interpretation.

Rubini's thesis could have been strengthened by tighter organization and more incisive treatment, but his thesis is important and merits careful study. With most recent writers on the early eighteenth century returning to the orthodox two-party Whig-Tory interpretation of Keith Feiling and G. M. Trevelyan, it is refreshing to read a different view. Here we have a young scholar with a sound knowledge of William III's reign insisting that the Whig versus Tory framework requires major modification to accommodate the conflict between Court and Country. He demonstrates conclusively that the two divisions cut across one another. The implications of such a four-way division of the Commons have yet to be dealt with satisfactorily by the neo-orthodox school of recent writers on early eighteenth-century politics.

College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

SIR WILLIAM JONES: A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH ATTITUDES TO INDIA. By *S. N. Mukherjee*. [Cambridge South Asian Studies, Number 6.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. vii, 198. \$8.50.)

RECENTLY Cambridge University Press, in association with the Cambridge University Centre for South Asian Studies, has published some interesting

monographs; this is the brightest bead on the string so far. Dr. Mukherjee's stated purposes are to explore the ideas of Sir William Jones and to assess his influence on British attitudes toward India. Both ends are achieved, although the latter purpose is less completely fulfilled and more work remains to be done in that area. Mukherjee inevitably goes over some of the same ground covered by Garland Cannon in his biography *Oriental Jones* (1964), yet this volume represents a considerable new departure. Fortunately for the researcher, Jones and his friends were prolific correspondents. Not only has Mukherjee used original sources overlooked by Cannon, but he has placed Jones's thought in its contemporary context. (Cannon's work should not be dismissed lightly, for his purpose was in fact different from Mukherjee's.) Mukherjee demonstrates convincingly that Jones was something of a polymath and a man of incredible diligence, but neither the innovator nor the great legal scholar he is often taken to be.

The heart of this study is contained in the chapters "The Beginnings of Indology: The Foundation of the Asiatick Society" and "The Beginnings of Indology: The 'Great Discoveries.'" Jones's central contribution to Indology was his founding of the Asiatick Society, which furnished a display window of Asian culture as observed firsthand for the benefit of Europeans. And his publication of the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa, the fifth-century Hindu dramatist and lyric poet, and the *Gītagōvinda* of Jayadeva, the twelfth-century Bengali poet, called attention to the wealth of Indian literature. Jones's other contributions were relatively minor. Mukherjee has portrayed Jones as a romantic personality trained in classical modes of thought, an accurate characterization.

The stigmata of the doctoral dissertation are almost entirely erased from this work. Mukherjee's style is not particularly distinguished, but it is clear and unassuming. The author has produced a slim volume of considerable merit in a genre where, regrettably, the opposite is so often the case. An eminent Cambridge historian has recently complained that American reviewers are not grumpy enough; I am sorry, but I did read Mukherjee's discussion with pleasure and profit.

Los Angeles Valley College

MARK NAIDIS

LAND, LABOUR AND POPULATION IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO J. D. CHAMBERS. Edited by E. L. Jones and G. E. Mingay. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xvii, 286. \$8.50.)

THIS volume is dedicated to Professor J. D. Chambers, the distinguished economic historian, whose work has done so much to advance our understanding of regional economic history within the larger context of the national economy. The volume is divided into three parts. The first part, devoted to land, consists of three essays: First, G. E. Mingay investigates the functions of "The Eighteenth Century Land Steward," concluding that "land stewards deserve their place alongside the improving landlords, the progressive farmers and stockbreeders, the inventors of implements and machinery, and the literary farmers and propagandists, as an essential ingredient of that complex process known as the agricultural revolution." One can hardly dissent from this conclusion in the absence of a

more precise specification of the *sort* of "place" the land stewards deserve. In the second essay, "Farming in Wartime: 1793-1815," A. H. John challenges some of the widely held generalizations about how British agriculture adapted to the peculiar requirements of a wartime economy. He is particularly skeptical of the view, most recently expressed by Deane and Cole, that a large extension of arable crops was achieved only at the cost of a serious decline in livestock. His essay is particularly useful in pointing to the varied experiences of different crops and different regions. The third essay, "Industrial Capital and Landed Investment: The Arkwrights in Herefordshire, 1809-43," by E. L. Jones, offers a most illuminating account of the manner in which a pre-eminently successful industrial family, in Disraeli's words, "deposited the results of their successful enterprise in the soil of their country." The account, an absorbing piece of social as well as economic history, deals in detail with negotiations leading to the purchase of a large estate, and with the subsequent operation of that estate. Jones skillfully fits his account into a discussion of the broader role of industrial capital and agricultural improvement in the process of British economic growth.

In Part Two, on labor, Charles M. Elliot re-examines (in an essay rather misleadingly titled "The Ideology of Economic Growth: A Case Study") the Weber thesis concerning the relationship between religious belief and economic behavior in the context of England during the Industrial Revolution. Although the essay appears to be directed at Weber's own statement as it appeared in his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, it ends as a critique of Neo-Weberianism which "has tended to see a direct causal relationship between religious belief and economic motivation," arguing that the causal relationships are much more complex than Neo-Weberians have made them out to be.

A. W. Coats, in his chapter on "The Classical Economists and the Labourer," examines some of the widely held caricatures of classical economics, particularly of the views held by the classical economists on the conditions of the working class in the first half of the nineteenth century, with special attention to their analysis of the causes of poverty and the prospects for its future reduction or amelioration. What emerges is a sensitive and balanced account of the major strengths and weaknesses, the genuine insights as well as blind spots, in the classical economists' understanding of their own society.

Roy A. Church and S. D. Chapman, in "Gravener Henson and the Making of the English Working Class," consider the career and views of the energetic yet enigmatic Midlands labor leader against the backdrop of E. P. Thompson's recent interpretation of the significance of Luddism in the Midlands. The authors argue, persuasively, that Henson himself had no connection with the Luddites, toward whom he was in fact uncompromisingly antipathetic. They find a coherent explanation for the separation of workers into constitutionalist and Luddite groups in the economic division of the hosiery manufacturing districts, with the constitutionalists occupying the better-paid branches of the hosiery trade in Nottingham and Leicester, and the Luddites occupying the lower paid branches of the trade in the industrial villages. The country knitters engaged in frame smashing "when the establishment leadership, which was in the hands of Henson and his associates in the town, either failed or was discredited." The authors also reject Thompson's view that the Luddites were resisting the

imposition of a despised laissez-faire system; rather, they insist, the Luddites were pursuing more modest industrial gains.

The following essay, "Allotments and the Problem of Rural Poverty, 1780-1840," by D. C. Barnett, examines a proposal for the relief of poverty, especially rural poverty, that for some time received wide support as an alternative to the poor laws, whereby a small piece of land would have been made available to the laborer, to be cultivated during his leisure hours.

The third part of the volume, devoted to population, opens with an article, "Some Aspects of Population Change, 1690-1790," by J. T. Krause. Krause, a leader of the demographic "revisionists," analyzes some neglected archival and published material to strengthen his case for the primacy of changes in fertility, rather than mortality, in accounting for the growth in population during the period he considers. He presents some evidence suggesting a fall in the age of marriage as a plausible mechanism underlying the growth in population in the eighteenth century. The evidence, while admittedly fragmentary, has the virtue of indicating directions for future research before the subject can be treated with greater authority.

In "The Home Market and Economic Growth in England, 1750-1780," D. E. C. Eversley suggests that British industrialization was directly linked to the growth of a large domestic market for industrial goods in the years following 1750. Such a thesis has recently been restated by A. H. John for the period *before* 1750. Eversley's argument is interesting because the strategic role of the growth of the domestic market has been specifically denied for the period *after* 1750, and it has become increasingly fashionable in recent years to emphasize the contribution of the growth of export markets in this period. Eversley demonstrates that a rapid growth of the domestic market took place in response to the disproportionately rapid growth of a new middle income class. This carefully reasoned piece deserves the attention of all students of the period.

The final essay, "Population Growth and Economic Change in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century England and Ireland," by P. E. Razzell argues that "the large increase in population during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was in no way due to economic factors, but on the contrary was a major cause of economic change. . . ." This is a very strong proposition, and Razzell attempts to support it with an essentially monocausal explanation of the decline in mortality: the introduction of preventive therapy against smallpox after 1740. His attention is in fact mostly directed to Ireland, and he draws primarily on literary evidence. His hypothesis is not supported by the sort of statistical data that would entitle it to be taken more seriously.

The wide diversity of materials covered by these essays is, itself, a worthy tribute to Chambers' range of interests, most particularly in regional history and historical demography, and the impact of his thinking upon that of his students and colleagues. At the same time, precisely those characteristics that make this volume a successful *Festschrift* also make it difficult to deal with in a summary way. One might express the regret that the last three authors, writing on demographic subjects, have shown insufficient attention to one another's work. But historical demography is still a very young discipline that owes much to Chambers' initiatives and intellectual leadership. One may hope that the conflict

of views expressed by the contributors on this subject will generate the further research from which a deeper understanding of the underlying processes of historical change will eventually emerge. That would be the most enduring of all tributes to Chambers.

Harvard University

NATHAN ROSENBERG

EDMUND BURKE: THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Peter J. Stanlis*. (Detroit: University of Detroit Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 129. \$5.00.)

THESE five studies, with short commentaries on two of them, were read at a symposium in 1965 at the University of Detroit. Gracefully and descriptively introduced by Professor Louis I. Bredvold, they all display the high level that scholarly work on Edmund Burke has reached in recent years. Thomas H. D. Mahoney offers a fresh account of Burke's thought and activity in relation to the repeal of the Stamp Act. Much recently unearthed material has been worked into it, so that it becomes the most copiously detailed story ever written of this passage in his life. That it will ever be amplified seems improbable, even though it leaves unclarified the extent to which Burke acted and spoke under the strategic direction of Lord Rockingham. Robert Smith's paper on "Burke's Crusade against the French Revolution" was previously printed in the *Burke News Letter*, and it is gratifying to have it between hard covers. Without raising the old and false notion of inconsistency, Smith shows very artfully the extent to which the fortunes of Burke's advancing life, his personal encounters, changes in the circle of his political friends, ill treatment by his party, the alienation of Dissenters from him, and his hardening conservatism transformed Lord Rockingham's political secretary into the fiercely intractable enemy of the French Revolution.

Harvey Mansfield's study on "Burke and Machiavelli on Principles in Politics," is an acute comparative analysis that is too diffused for short summary here. It demonstrates the truth that only high sagacity can prevent political parties from degenerating into competitive ideological sects. Peter Stanlis' investigation of "Burke and the Scientific Rationalism of the Enlightenment" links Burke with Dryden, Swift, and Dr. Johnson in an English tradition of skepticism toward the pretentious and hostility toward the destructive claims of reason and science to sovereignty in human affairs. Lastly, we have a reflective essay by the late Walter D. Love on what he called Burke's "after-life," that is, the mind of Burke as interpreted by subsequent schools of thought. Love believed that pursuing Burke through his interpreters would further illuminate both the rich and many-sided genius of the man and the dialectic process of intellectual history. The same could be said, of course, for studying the "after-life" of Machiavelli, Luther, Karl Marx, and others whose souls go marching on through the life of civilization.

All the papers, including the short commentaries by Daniel L. McCue and James F. Davidson on the Mahoney and Smith contributions, exemplify not only sound scholarship but highly refined thought. Each author has produced other works that have enlarged the knowledge and understanding of Burke who, since his death, has never been more "alive" than during the last twenty years.

In 1964 Stanlis edited the papers of a previous Burke symposium and published them as a book. The present volume suggests that a series may be under way.

Fordham University

ROSS J. S. HOFFMAN

THE LATER CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE III, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II. Volume III, JANUARY 1798 TO DECEMBER 1801. Edited by *A. Aspinall*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 671. \$27.50.)

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES 1770-1812. Volume IV, 1799-1804. Edited by *A. Aspinall*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 590. \$26.90.)

THESE two volumes, which continue the excellent format of their respective series, indicate the skills and difficulties of an experienced historian and editor when publishing two sets of letters at the same time. Professor Aspinall has once again used his wide knowledge of English political history during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to elucidate the correspondence of George III and George, prince of Wales. The results are two books of prime source materials now made accessible to scholars of the period. The letters have been chosen with care, and Aspinall has added much valuable explanatory information in his footnotes, though in some cases these run longer than is necessary.

The nature of the correspondence leads to the real differences in the editor's task. The letters of George III, as one would expect, are filled with far more political information and are much more formal than those of the Prince of Wales. The reader, therefore, gains infinitely more insight into the character and personality of the son. Though the future George IV was increasingly involved in political matters in the years 1799-1804, the main duty of the editor remains the presentation and explanation of the man. This Aspinall does extremely well by his arrangement of letters and with a minimum of comment. In contrast, the volume of George III's letters, though even more carefully selected, is filled with editorial comment, which seems necessary to clarify the often disjointed sequence of letters. One finds much political information in the correspondence, but the chronological arrangement has not made it easy.

Aspinall begins this volume of George III's letters with fifteen pages of introductory material. He briefly surveys the history of the three years. Often he achieves precision and neatness, but the desire to be inclusive leads to paragraphs that have little relationship. Among the letters are such interesting side lights as the authorization of a pension to Cardinal York and a letter from the bishop of Worcester commenting on Jean LaHarpe. Much of the material consists of letters between the King and his ministers concerning the war, but important aspects are not often discussed. Other letters are those to or from the King's children. These are often trivial, plaintive, or demanding.

The letters of the Prince of Wales show plainly his petty nature. His futile political maneuvers, his quarrels with his family, and his insistence on position are quite clear. Yet the personal charm is also present in letters to friends. The letters

received by the Prince also demonstrate the wide extent of his interests, the importance that people believed he had, and the need to bolster his ego.

Taken together the volumes make an important and interesting contrast between the two men as persons and political figures.

New York University

JOHN W. WILKES

CRIME AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN THE 19TH CENTURY. By J. J. Tobias. [Studies in Economic and Social History.] (New York: Schocken Books. 1967. Pp. 288. \$11.00.)

STUDENTS of Victorian England will be much indebted to Dr. Tobias for his pioneer study of the problem of crime in the era of Peel, Mayhew, and Sherlock Holmes. Though the criminal classes of this period have received much attention from novelists and journalist-historians, few scholars have ventured into the rookeries of Victorian slums. Dr. Kitson Clark and the late W. L. Burn have shown us that our former generalizations about the Victorians will not stand up under the glaring lights of modern historical scholarship. This book does much to illuminate a side of English history to which they devote little attention.

Since he is breaking new ground, it is perhaps carping to wish that the author had written a better, or at least a different, book. Within its own limits, this monograph is definitive. It is an exhaustive survey of nineteenth-century opinion about crime and criminals; many of the chapters consist of long quotations from Victorian books and periodicals. The footnotes and bibliography give ample evidence of the author's diligent research in contemporary literature on the subject. But such a study hardly tells us the full story of nineteenth-century crime.

Nowhere are criminals allowed to speak for themselves. There are extant printed court records that Tobias does not cite. He virtually ignores nineteenth-century statistics about crime on the grounds that the Victorians did not know how to gather or use such material. The careful historian has an obligation to present and analyze critically all relevant contemporary records, and surely nineteenth-century criminal statistics are germane to this topic. With regard to his use of secondary authorities, I am equally dubious of Tobias' methods. In attempting to relate crime to its socioeconomic setting he relies heavily upon the work of a small number of scholars. Phyllis Deane is clearly one of the leading economic historians writing today, but to cite her summary monograph *The First Industrial Revolution* as the source for matters of population growth and demography in nineteenth-century Britain is to use that book for a purpose for which it was never intended.

Tobias' central conclusion—that the crime rate declined relatively during the course of the century—will interest many scholars concerned with the problems of modern urban society. Certainly all of us will have to rethink our slipshod notion that an increase in criminal activity is a concomitant of the uncontrolled growth of metropolitan areas. I would find this interesting conclusion much more palatable, however, if it were grounded on a statistical foundation or at least on firmer sources than nineteenth-century opinion about crime.

The study of crime raises many interesting questions about a society. This

book certainly recognizes most of the key issues about the relationship between crime and Victorian society. If it does not provide all the answers, it must be remembered that Tobias is walking an untrodden path. Either he or other historians will have to fill in the picture with more detailed monographs and studies of the statistics or of particular localities. When this is done, we will have a much better basis for judging his conclusions and, incidentally, for knowing much more than we do now about the dark side of Victorian life.

Harvard University

DAVID PEIRCE

AN EXPANDING SOCIETY: BRITAIN 1830-1900. By *G. S. R. Kitson Clark*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 188. \$5.50.)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A MIDLAND TOWN: VICTORIAN NOTTINGHAM, 1815-1900. By *Roy A. Church*. [Reprints of Economic Classics.] (New York: Augustus M. Kelley. 1966. Pp. xxiv, 409. \$15.00.)

DR. Kitson Clark's useful and stimulating collection of lectures on nineteenth-century British history deserves wider circulation than would have been achieved at the University of Melbourne, where the lectures were originally delivered. The auspices were relevant, however, for Kitson Clark used the occasion to place British history in a somewhat different context from that with which he has been concerned in his earlier and more definitive books. He was obviously seeking to make British history meaningful to students who had never seen Britain but who shared some of its attitudes and traditions. "Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow and the rest," he stated in his first lecture, "were indeed the first and for long perhaps the most outstanding creations of a great folk wandering, and they were in many ways as intellectually remote from the old as if they were in Australia or America." This lecture set the tone. Yet the book would have been even more valuable if it had involved comparison as well as reorientation; some of the themes call for a more profound social analysis. For specialists the most interesting chapters of the book touch on recent research or on work in progress carried out by the author's pupils. The last lecture on "The Modern State" is particularly stimulating.

Dr. Church's thorough and well-balanced account of Victorian Nottingham is an excellent example of recent work on urban history. It begins with a picture of Nottingham in 1815. The town was a local capital, and it attracted persons of rank as well as rising industrialists. Yet it was a backward industry, framework knitting, that most strongly influenced the social and political atmosphere of the town during the first few decades of the century, and Luddism, which is well described, and Chartism were both effective local movements of protest. Industrial advance was slow and sporadic, although the machine-made lace industry deserved the adjective "progressive," which Church attaches to it. There are particularly good chapters on urban expansion and the emergence of a "new Nottingham," which can be used to illustrate important general points about the relation of land use to population growth. The political chapters are illuminating, but the last chapter on "Victorian City" could be profitably expanded. What made Nottingham not unique but distinctive was the influence of the sense of the city's

historic past on the Victorian civic gospel. As two earlier historians of the city, who wrote in 1893, put it: "amid the unresting roll of our modern machinery and the din of today's business we may hear, if we only listen, the voices of a venerable past."

The great merit of Church's book is that he starts with local experience and its documentation rather than with an outline of natural history that is then filled out with local examples. No attempt is made, however, to compare Nottingham with other cities or to place it firmly in its regional setting. Once again, an effort at comparison, in this case implicit as well as explicit, would have strengthened what is in its own setting a most rewarding monograph.

University of Sussex

ASA BRIGGS

VICTORIAN MINDS. By *Gertrude Himmelfarb*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xiii, 392, v. \$8.95.)

Victorian Minds is difficult to review. Its thirteen chapters call for thirteen reviews, for this is not so much a book as a miscellany of Gertrude Himmelfarb's stylish essays, reprinted from sources as varied as the *New York Review of Books* and the *Journal of British Studies*. The essays have been reworked, but not so as to connect them in any deliberate way. There are pieces on Burke, Bentham, Malthus, Mill, Acton, Leslie Stephen, Bagehot, Froude, Buchan, the Victorian ethos, the Victorian *Angst*, Darwinism, and the Reform Act of 1867. The quality of scholarship and the range of knowledge displayed are of course no surprise to students of Himmelfarb's major books on Acton and Darwin; her prose, however, has an unusual quality of leisureliness and grace not often afforded today.

Himmelfarb on Burke consists of two opposed essays, the later one refuting the earlier in an interesting, even daring, trick of self-exposure by the historian. Neither quite resolves the issues raised, however. Burke's "partiality for prejudice and superstition," for example, may be part neither of "conservative strategy" nor of "liberal strategy," but simply a sociological grasp of the real forces operating in society. Bentham is seen at his horrifying worst through his Panopticon (plan for a modern prison), and doubt is thereby cast on the quality of Philosophical Radicalism as a genuine reform movement. Malthus, on the other hand, appears in a favorable liberal light once a very sharp distinction is drawn between his first and second editions. John Stuart Mill divides into three Mills, the first and last more cautious and somber, the middle period Mill, dominated by Harriet Taylor, more egalitarian and liberal, doctoring a new edition of his *Political Economy* to accommodate Harriet's budding socialism. Leslie Stephen emerges as a failure, his potential crushed by the repressive emotional values of Victorian middle-class society that he internalized, turning himself into a mere professional writer. In contrast, Bagehot, who might superficially seem more professional still, was armed with a sense of the absurdity of life and pitted himself against the pressures of a railway magazine culture; while Buchan, the "last Victorian," wrote both unconcernedly and spontaneously, all his prejudices tumbling out with great confidence. Himmelfarb has been accused elsewhere of underplaying Buchan's anti-Semitism; the charge is simplistic and

without foundation. Her cool, historical analysis of Buchan's problem is admirable. The most substantial piece in the book is on the Act of 1867, where the reluctant, conservative Liberals and the confident, radical Tories play havoc with many of the still-accepted prejudices of historians.

In such a volume there is much with which to disagree. In general one could desire a history of ideas that is not quite as remote from economic and social circumstances as many of these essays are. There is plenty of fascinating psychologizing here—father problems (Mill, Stephen, Froude) and a brother problem (Newman)—but little on economic and social structure. The lack is felt most in the treatment of such issues as the Halévy thesis and in the great weight placed in some parts on “evangelicalism” as a general factotum. But her fans are grateful for this useful collection of *Himmelfarbiana*.

University of Illinois, Chicago

PETER D'A. JONES

COBDEN AND BRIGHT: A VICTORIAN POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP.

By *Donald Read*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 275. \$8.50.)

RICHARD Cobden, after speaking of “the transparent intimacy of mind” that he shared with John Bright in 1857, added that “I don't know that there is anything that I have sought to do which Mr. Bright would not do in my place, or anything that he aims at which I would not accomplish if I had the power.” On the basis of this famous text and on the basis of twenty-five years of partnership in fighting the same radical causes, historians have treated the outlook of these two statesmen as nearly identical. What differences there were seemed to point only to a greater radicalism on the part of John Bright.

Donald Read disputes both of these conclusions. Their views were not identical, and of the two Cobden was the more radical. There was, indeed, in Bright, Read argues, “an element of conservatism,” an element quite absent in Cobden. Bright never espoused, as did Cobden, universal manhood suffrage, and he ended his career opposing Gladstone's Home Rule for Ireland. Cobden, had he lived, would have, Read conjectures, supported the Home Rule Bill. Cobden is the hero of Read's survey of the views of these two Victorian Radicals. He calls him “the greatest non-party statesman ever to figure in British politics.” In almost everything but oratory he is, in Read's mind, superior to Bright. His mind was flexible, Bright's rigid; his demeanor conciliatory, Bright's abrasive; his spirit generous, Bright's narrow. Cobden, though a manufacturer, had roots in rural Sussex and was brought up in the Church of England; Bright, the son of a cotton spinner and a Quaker, reflected the exclusiveness of the dissenter, and the millocracy. Read's survey of the two men thus correctly redresses the too easy assumption that they were of the identical, ready-made, Victorian mercantile radical stamp, and it nicely distinguishes their views on educational policies, on social legislation, and on the Church of England. In making these distinctions, Read adds helpful shadings to the traditional portraits of Bright and Cobden. He is less helpful, however, in insisting that Cobden was the more radical. In this interpretation Read substitutes for the subtle shadings, which is the strength of his study, a tone of special pleading and a straining of the evidence.

It is, of course, true that Cobden wished to give the vote to all males of a year's

residence, while Bright would give the vote only to ratepayers. But what is this distinction compared to the enormous energy with which, in the 1850's, Bright but not Cobden spoke, agitated, and organized for the reform of Parliament? Radicalism in Victorian times was a matter of tone as well as of specific positions, and no singling out of the opposition to Home Rule by the aged Bright will counterbalance his audacious, belligerent attacks on game laws, the Church of England, and the aristocracy. To make such attacks on the Establishment, stemming though they did from the narrowness of dissent and commerce, was in mid-Victorian days to be a Radical. The catholicity of Cobden was a reflection of a judiciousness and soberness that had a touch of conservatism.

Dartmouth College

DAVID ROBERTS

PRINCE ALBERT AND VICTORIAN TASTE. By *Winslow Ames*. (New York: Viking Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 238. \$12.00.)

THE official biography of Prince Albert, written by Grey and Martin soon after his death and with Queen Victoria looking over their shoulders, portrays him as a saintly but somewhat colorless person, and more recent works on the life of the Prince Consort have not substantially changed the image. The sources may be in part responsible, for Albert's journal, in which his most intimate thoughts might presumably have been found, has disappeared, destroyed for some reason perhaps by an executor or possibly entombed with the Queen. But even his letters written to Victoria during their rare times of separation are reserved and factual, revealing little of the writer's deepest feelings. The truth is that the Prince was by nature and training a formal and highly serious person, one not given to impulsive and spontaneous utterances. He was at the same time extremely intelligent and well informed, and on the subject of the arts he was better educated and more discriminating than most of his contemporaries. In the years between his appointment at the age of twenty-two as chairman of the Royal Commission for the Decoration of the Houses of Parliament and his death twenty years later, Albert worked tirelessly to broaden the scope of English taste and to guide architecture away from revivalism and in the direction of a greater concern for practical values.

No writer before Ames has focused so exclusively on this aspect of Prince Albert's career. John Steegman's *Consort of Taste* admirably described the mid-nineteenth-century art world and the place of the Prince in it, but Ames's book greatly extends the story of Albert's contribution to developments in the arts. Intensive research in unpublished documents, not just in official archives but among the private papers of people who associated with him on committees and elsewhere, has yielded details of his impressive knowledge and opinions in the arts. It has also revealed a human and attractive side of the man, one not often apparent in his public conduct.

In a fascinating chapter on the Royal Collection, Ames shows how the Prince broadened English taste by buying Italian primitives and Renaissance works of art, which were not then highly regarded in England. In other chapters on the royal residences he explains how the architectural designs of Osborne and Balmoral reflected the Prince's ideas and how influential they were even abroad.

In the parts on the royal estates he also describes the activities of the Prince as an informed and enthusiastic landscape gardener.

This book will be invaluable to scholars for its wealth of factual data and for the clear indication of its sources. Not the least rewarding are items of incidental information inserted parenthetically in the text or incorporated in footnotes. Eighty superb illustrations complement the account, while the pungent comments of the author enliven it. Victorian historiography has been greatly enriched by the appearance of this publication.

Rutgers University

RUTH EMERY

THE IDEA OF THE VICTORIAN CHURCH: A STUDY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1833-1889. By *Desmond Bowen*. (Montreal: McGill University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 421. \$12.75.)

ALL the best-known historians of nineteenth-century England from Ensor and Halévy to Kitson Clark and Briggs have paid tribute to the strength and importance, amounting sometimes to dominance, of organized religion in the middle half of the century, but they have only described the phenomenon; they have never given themselves to an attempt to explain it. Dr. Bowen does so, not by looking for its secular social springs, but by seeking to demonstrate that organized religion, above all the Established Church of England, earned such importance for itself by making an unusually valuable and effective contribution to English society. His thesis is that, in the wake of the Oxford movement, a creative minority in the Church of England discovered that its catholicity did not rest on its ecclesiastical credentials of which Tractarians had made so much, but rather on recognition of the need to serve all segments of English society. Under the influence of this minority the Church of England, and indirectly the Non-conformist denominations, instilled in the middle classes a conviction of the obligation to serve its social inferiors, a Christian bourgeois sense of *noblesse oblige*. As a result, England was saved from the class warfare that tormented continental Europe. Furthermore, by working through the currently dominant middle classes, the Church created in the country a Christian social climate that the working classes came to accept even though few of their members had any direct dealings with the Church.

It is all too easy to debunk the argument as presented in the book. It ignores the possibility that the diffused economic prosperity of the 1850's and 1860's could account for the simultaneous muting of class conflict, conflict that had been evident in the hungry 1840's and became so again after depression set in during the 1870's. The importance of the Established Church among English religious denominations is exaggerated by belittling the antipathy between Church and Dissent—the Liberation Society is not even mentioned—and by ignoring the alliance between Dissent and the Liberal party. The book's survey of English church history from 1833 to 1889, though strong in places, is not always coherently organized or reliable in fact and judgment: Bishop Blomfield, for example, did not work on in London until his death in 1857, but was forced by paralysis to seek a special and controversial act of Parliament allowing him to resign his see the year before; and to call the aims of Joshua Watson and Archdeacon Denison

in elementary education altruistic is to ignore even the name of the organization to whose objects they devoted themselves, "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church." Most serious, the argument rests on a faulty chronological foundation. At the very time that the creative minority of Churchmen, fusing the teaching of Pusey and F. D. Maurice, began effectively to impress a heightened social sensitivity upon the Church, that is, in the 1880's, the Church was losing its mid-nineteenth-century pre-eminence, and the decline continued ineluctably. The author wrongly assumes that this fall did not occur, at least to any great extent, until after World War I.

Two elements of the argument merit serious consideration. Bowen's emphasis on previously often neglected though published evidence, for instance about Pusey's concern for the mushrooming cities, should lead the student of mid-nineteenth-century England to wonder whether the command that organized religion then enjoyed over men's attention was not a reflection of the churches' social concern and service. Secondly, the analysis in this book of the thought of the socially sensitive minority among the clergy during the last twenty years of the century, particularly their reliance on the middle classes, though not as flattering to the minority as the author apparently believes, is convincing.

Syracuse University

P. T. MARSH

ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND. By *E. R. Norman*.
[Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 1.] (New York:
Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. 240. \$5.75.)

THE history of intolerance is more instructive than the growth of toleration. The liberalism of Victorian England was founded on a mass of prejudices and hostilities of which anti-Catholicism was one of the most profound and least understood. A constant factor in British national sentiment, anti-Catholicism came to the surface in occasional outbursts whose virulence made even Queen Victoria "blush for Protestantism."

These outbursts are the subject of Norman's book, which, as is the rule in this promising series, is divided between a long introduction and a set of documents. The twenty documents have been well selected. The introduction was the Thirlwall Prize Essay for 1967. It is an essay on a subject that deserves a treatise. Well written, clever, and insightful, it is, nonetheless, an episodic and fragmentary treatment of the subject, selecting four major incidents as case studies in historical pathology. The chapter on the Maynooth grant of 1845 is the best; it points out the central role of this affair in Gladstone's career, the superficial unity of all Protestants, and the interesting deviation of the voluntarist Nonconformists. The chapter on the "Papal Aggression" of 1850 points up the hostility to Anglo-Catholicism rather than to Roman Catholicism that influenced Russell and others. The treatment of the Vatican Decrees controversy of 1874 is less satisfactory, but Norman makes the useful point that the public response to Gladstone's outburst was more limited than on earlier occasions. The final chapter seems to be out of place, since it deals with an intra-Anglican conflict—the issue

of ritualism—but Norman argues that antiritualist sentiment drew its force from anti-Catholicism.

The essay lacks a general conclusion. Norman emphasizes the enduring vitality of anti-Catholic feeling, but he also indicates that the agitations were “almost the last expressions of a dying tradition,” waning among the educated classes, at least, “according to a scale set by the waning of all religious feeling.” These valid insights fall short of the analysis that the subject deserves. A comparison with the simultaneous and independent study of anti-Irish prejudice by L. P. Curtis, Jr., *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*, is instructive in this regard. Norman is regrettably unaware of the preliminary articles on Irish Catholicism and English Toryism by Gilbert Cahill, but he has mastered the original sources. The subject should receive a deeper analysis and a more continuous narrative, but this is a promising beginning.

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

ANGLO-SAXONS AND CELTS: A STUDY OF ANTI-IRISH PREJUDICE IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND. By L. P. Curtis, Jr. [Studies in British History and Culture, Volume II.] (Bridgeport, Conn.: Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport; distrib. by New York University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. 162.)

THE Act of Union was the most conspicuous failure of nineteenth-century Britain. English institutions were modified when applied to Ireland, and the Irish persistently refused to welcome them. Throughout the century the English sought to explain this resistance. Since Whigs were little more successful than Tories, or Liberals than Conservatives, the cause of the failure was sought in the character of the Irish. Their intransigency denoted instability; their refusal to accept what they did not want proved that they did not know what they wanted; English inability to rule demonstrated clearly that the Irish were incapable of governing themselves. By mid-century the two peoples were declared incompatible. Later it was held that the peoples constituted two races: one, masculine, superior, freedom loving, capable of self-government; the other, feminine, childish, addicted to violence, enthusiasm, and authoritarian control. The emphasis upon race coincided with a view of “Paddy” as Celtic and Catholic. By the end of the century the prejudice no longer applied to Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish.

In this volume Professor Curtis attributes the failure of English policy to the stereotype of Irish character fashioned by educated Victorians. He examines first the image, its character and origin; next, its dissemination and reinforcement by current science; finally, its twofold effect: English rejection of Home Rule and Irish Celticism. The essence of the stereotype was Anglo-Saxon superiority. English civilization was seen as the product of the innate wisdom and skills of a people bound by blood. From the 1860's through the 1880's this racial view was strengthened by the writings of continental theorists, English popularizers, anthropologists, and historians. Toward the end of the century it was denied by more scientific studies, by environmentalists, by Celticists whose cultural resistance took the form of a mythology of their own. The racial theory held the Irish, as Celts, to be everything the Anglo-Saxons were not and, Curtis suggests,

all that the English secretly desired to be. Celticists produced no similar stereotype of John Bull; the explanation for this is not stressed. Home Rule was rejected by the generation influenced by "scientific" theories of racial behavior.

In witty and lively prose Curtis has produced a pioneer and valuable study of the nineteenth-century prejudice against the Irish. Like other pioneer efforts, it indicates areas where further research is needed. It is to be hoped that the author will continue to apply his considerable talents to this field.

San Jose State College

MARY D. CONDON

THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR, 1838-1842. By *J. A. Norris*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 499. \$15.00.)

EVER since its disastrous outcome the first Afghan War has been universally condemned as an ill-conceived and ill-fated venture, and its author, Lord Auckland, has been derided as an inept and bumbling figure, manipulated by strong-willed political agents in the field. J. A. Norris, in this detailed and comprehensive account of the war, has set out to redress the balance. Auckland emerges from this volume almost as a hero, a man of "judgment and good sense," who acted decisively, but never precipitantly. Nor, in Norris' view, did Auckland stand alone in counseling intervention in Afghanistan. The policy that led to war, he insists, antedated Auckland by eight years and was approved in its essentials not only by the Whig government at home, but by such influential Tories as the Duke of Wellington.

Norris is surprisingly sympathetic to the basic tenets of the forward policy. He admits that the war was poorly conducted, that Auckland was badly served by his subordinates and that he himself misjudged the extent of Afghan national feeling, but he argues that the Afghan campaign must be viewed in the context of the general Eastern Question. It was a part of Palmerston's efforts to turn back Russia's advance into Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, in Norris' view, the advance into Afghanistan was the "foundation of Palmerston's success." Without it, he maintains, the Russians would have established themselves in the heart of Central Asia, and Britain would have had to deploy its strength for the defense of the Indian, rather than the Ottoman Empire.

Norris ably unravels the complex political and diplomatic maneuverings of the period and convincingly lays to rest the charge that the famous blue book of 1839 was garbled to make a bad case look presentable. But one can rehabilitate Auckland without rehabilitating the policy he espoused. There is little evidence to show that Russian advances into Central Asia posed any real threat to India, or that British control of Afghanistan would in any way enhance the security of the subcontinent. Until the Russian archives conclusively prove the contrary, the Russian threat must remain a product of overheated imagination or of an imperial enthusiasm that saw Britain itself as the master of Central Asia.

University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS R. METCALF

LAYARD OF NINEVEH. By *Gordon Waterfield*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. x, 535. \$10.00.)

SIR Austen Henry Layard, the discoverer of Nineveh, is such a "neglected" figure that he has not previously been the subject of a full-fledged biography. It is almost forgotten that, in addition to his archaeological explorations, he spent years in Parliament as well as in the British foreign service as an adviser, as Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, and as ambassador to Spain and to Turkey.

Despite his experiences in lands and among peoples where courtesy and courtliness were so highly valued and his service in the diplomatic corps with its tradition of blandness and urbanity, the dogmatic and impetuous Layard was anything but affable and suave in his relations, public and private, with others. A passionate, opinionated, and outspoken individual, he made no attempt to cloak his strong beliefs and intense emotions. In all of his activities, as explorer and archaeologist, as a member of Parliament, and in his foreign service roles, Layard did not court favor either with his official superiors or with the public. Rather, he expected that, because of his superior intelligence and knowledge (a personal assessment not always concurred in by others), both friend and foe would be compelled to look to him for advice.

Largely a self-made man, Layard was possessed, in the words of Justin McCarthy, of "immense self-sufficiency and indomitable egotism . . . he never seemed to have a moment's doubt on any conceivable question." It was a view that was, among many others, concurred in by the fourth Earl of Clarendon who spoke with disdain of the "mighty self-sufficient gent; nobody is right or knows anything but himself." Layard and his swaggering conceit and unbridled tongue were too much for Queen Victoria, who unsuccessfully opposed his appointment as Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs by Palmerston.

Regarded as disagreeable by most of those who knew him, he was, nevertheless, a figure to be reckoned with until late in his life when his pro-Turk and anti-Russian sympathies, which led him to call Gladstone a "vulgar pamphleteer," put him in political limbo. At the same time his reputation suffered as a result of criticism by officials of the British Museum of his claims as an archaeologist.

Gordon Waterfield, who is in charge of the BBC's Arabic Service and "has a family connection" with Layard, has here attempted to restore Layard's reputation, embalmed as it has been in its tarnished form in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Though the verdict is more favorable, Layard must still remain a minor figure. For this account, first published in Great Britain in 1963, Waterfield has had access to the 340 volumes of Layard Papers in the British Museum, other letters, Layard's own publications, and thirteen volumes of the diary of his wife. The result is an interesting and lively picture of Layard as explorer and of his activities while in Parliament and as an ambassador. Waterfield makes less of an attempt to "explain" than to describe the man and his activities. Holding that Layard was "almost always right," Waterfield attributes Layard's failures to his inability to "persuade." In an appendix entitled "A Hundred Years Later" are reprinted two solicited opinions that Layard's archaeological contributions were important. The assertion is made that "Layard must take his stand among the immortals." That Layard would have agreed does not

make it less of a hyperbole. Layard was very much a mortal, and he should be judged as such.

University of Hawaii

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

THE IMPERIAL FRONTIER IN THE TROPICS, 1865-75: A STUDY OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY IN WEST AFRICA, MALAYA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC IN THE AGE OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI. By *W. David McIntyre*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. x, 421. \$11.00.)

THE author of this book asserts that writings on imperialism are too often characterized by excessive emphasis on the theoretical or polemical and that conclusions are frequently more revealing of the writers than of the phenomenon they seek to describe. His approach is to analyze in as much detail as the sources permit the bases for British actions on the imperial frontiers of West Africa, Malaya, and the South Pacific during the decade that was once characterized as transitional from "Little England" to the "New Imperialism." His conclusions somewhat modify established interpretations, but the great value of the book lies in the analysis of the assumptions and the motives of imperial officers at home and abroad. He documents the importance of the man on the spot, but points up the limitations on his freedom of action imposed by his superiors in London. The important names in the critical decisions were not for the most part famous empire builders. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Herbert, Ord, Glover, Jervois, and Goode-nough are known to scholars, but they are not considered worthy of mention in most textbooks on the British Empire. He emphasizes, further, the importance of local rulers in influencing British policy. Their role, contrary to the popular impression, was not passive; in many instances they sought to "use" the British government to advance their interests. Gladstone, who was not always perceptive of the implications of his subordinates' actions in colonial expansion, was perceptive enough to recognize this fact and deplored the disposition of John Bull to "put his head. . . into a noose."

Professor McIntyre demonstrates that the policies pursued by Kimberley in 1870-1873 and those of Carnarvon in 1874-1876 were essentially akin and that there was no significant difference between the posture of the Gladstone and Disraeli administrations in response to the frontier problems of the areas he has selected for investigation. These conclusions are obviously not revolutionary; the same point has been made by other writers. But the author contributes to a deepening understanding of the mid-Victorian approach to empire. He shows that statesmen were caught up in a forward policy that they did not fully understand and that some sought to avoid, but it proved impossible to check it completely.

His findings to some extent support the Robinson-Gallagher thesis of the continuity of British expansion throughout the nineteenth century, but with important qualifications. Expansion proceeded by uneven thrusts that developed

in various areas for somewhat different reasons at different times. The book is well worth the attention of students of imperial history.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880. By *Trevor Lloyd*. [Oxford Historical Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 175. \$6.65.)

SINCE 1945 the Nuffield College studies of British elections have appeared, election after election, as a sort of instant history on the installment plan. The result has been the accumulation of a series of monographs on postwar elections, all on very much the same sort of pattern and each one demonstrating a new degree of statistical sophistication. Dr. Lloyd claims that his book on the 1880 general election is on "the lines of the Nuffield accounts of elections in Britain since 1945" and that "the approach is psephological and starts from the premiss that general elections are too important to be left to the politicians" (whatever that may mean). There are, therefore, two possible yardsticks for judging the book: that of the Nuffield studies and that of the nineteenth-century historian who simply wants to know what went on in 1880.

By the standards of the Nuffield studies this book is a little on the short side. It lacks the equivalent of the local studies by observers on the spot that give depth to the Nuffield books, and the statistical coverage is thin. Both omissions are unfortunate. The lack of local coverage means that it is hard to evaluate the relative importance of national and local factors and to arrive at a satisfactory comparison with the post-1945 situation. The thin statistical coverage is a pity because it means that we are still no nearer to discovering an effective measure of just what happened in nineteenth-century elections. I had a preliminary shot at statistical evaluation of the elections of the period 1868-1880 some ten years ago with the aid of a team of young women working on machines and was very dissatisfied with the result. It would have been interesting to have had an alternative approach to the subject from one who clearly feels himself more directly in the Nuffield tradition. That tradition is, however, well reflected in the six main chapters of the book: "The Liberal Victory," "The Issues in Dispute," "Party Organization," "Taking the Issues to the People," "Bribery, Corruption, and All That," and "The Result."

The workaday historian, hoping to learn more about the 1880 election, will find some useful material, even though the book is short. However, on the main point in which he is likely to be interested—Gladstone's Midlothian campaign—he is likely to be disappointed. There is little about Scotland in the book, and astonishingly little about either the arrangements for the Midlothian campaign or its impact on the country. This is partly because no use was made of the papers of W. P. Adam, the chief Liberal Whip, or of Lord Hartington, the Liberal party leader, partly because the Rosebery papers were not available when the book was written. But it arises also, I suspect, from an attitude of mind. Scotland appears in this book as part of the provinces (*The Scotsman* figures in the list of newspapers consulted as a provincial paper, although even the British Museum Newspaper Library does not classify it that way), and Midlothian seems curiously remote from the Oxford-London axis that good Nuffield men assume

to be the center of British society. To get the flavor of the politics of the period, one must turn to a much more exciting book, R. T. Shannon's *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, which is by far the best study of nineteenth-century political enthusiasm that has yet appeared.

Harvard University

H. J. HANHAM

MEMORIES, 1898-1939. By C. M. Bowra. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. 369. \$7.95.)

SIR Maurice Bowra, fellow, tutor, and subsequently warden of Wadham College, professor of poetry, and for a triennium vice-chancellor of Oxford University, is famous in the world of learning for his splendid series of works on classical Greek literature and for the range and insight of his studies in many modern ones. Here he presents a book that is neither history nor formal autobiography, but a review of observations, impressions, and personalities through an important period, which historians, classical scholars, and others of many schools may savor with profit and all may enjoy. Superficially unsystematic, it is given structure by the unusual background and experiences of the author, and the stable, even progression of his life from his days as a student in New College.

The story begins with childhood in China, continues with schooling in England, vignettes of the family, a brief return to China, a trip through Siberia, experiences in Petrograd that were personally profoundly moving on the eve of the Revolution, and a period of service in the army in World War I, not without its lighter moments amid the sufferings, which left him ready to appreciate all manner of human beings for what they are. Life at Oxford as student and don brought him into contact with past, present, and future notables of the period between the two world wars. He shows us much of the life and many of the personalities of an important period there. Meanwhile, many trips and close friendships on the Continent, particularly with the circle of Stefan George in Germany, kept him in close contact with movements there and enabled him to follow with open eyes the development of the Hitler regime. His experience in America at Harvard was perhaps too brief for a full understanding, but one values his impressions of Felix Frankfurter and his colleagues there.

All this is interesting and valuable in itself, but the distinction and charm of the work derive from the outward gaze of the author, his clear observation, and sympathetic, yet objective, understanding of the characters, academic and nonacademic, that pass in review with their foibles and eccentricities, his pervasive urbanity and good humor, not without irony, and his wealth of amusing and revealing anecdotes. The Asquith family—Asquith himself calm and serene beside the redoubtable Margot—Lloyd George, an overpowering personality and a libertine, “both less and more than human,” Lindemann and Churchill, Sir John Simon and Birkenhead are placed before us informally, while the roster of well-known names in arts and letters touches the Bloomsbury circle with Lady Ottoline Morrell, and gives brief views of Kipling and Henry James, more extended ones of the Betjemans, Elizabeth Bowen, and Evelyn Waugh, and separate chapters to W. B. Yeats and Gilbert Murray. Then there are the students and colleagues in the university in a period when the pursuit of one's

own modes and standards was the fashion, and failure, too, provided it be in the grand style, provoked admiration. A fine explanation of the purpose of "Greats" leads to accounts of the men who taught. Here one finds Denniston and Beazley, a visit from Cambridge by A. E. Housman, and moving reminiscences of Humphrey Payne and Alan Blakeway; here also we can watch with sympathy, and at times amusement, the reactions of German refugees from Hitler, a Kantorowicz or a Fraenkel, to the Oxford environment.

Historians will note the author's realization in his youth, amid the splendors of Peking, of the weakness of China and the aims of Japan. In Petrograd in 1916, besides meeting one who knew the Tsar's family and Rasputin, he saw the shortages of food and weapons and sensed the imminence of collapse. He understood Hitler's purposes before many of his German friends had realized their meaning. His urbanity disappears when he speaks of Hitler's excesses and the blind smugness of the appeasers in England.

There is a story that, when Bowra met Hitler in 1932, he answered Hitler's greeting, "Heil Hitler," with "Heil Bowra." The author mentions it only to deny it. One could wish it were true. More *Memories* will receive a warm welcome.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

THE NEW AGE UNDER ORAGE: CHAPTERS IN ENGLISH CULTURAL HISTORY. By Wallace Martin. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. xiii, 303. \$6.00.)

"*The New Age*, particularly just before and in the early part of the first world war," said Margaret Cole, "was *the* left-wing paper, which everybody who was anybody read." The journal and its editor, A. R. Orage, are now chiefly remembered for their association with guild socialism, that rather quaint mixture of Ruskinian ideals and industrial syndicalism that for a time captivated a whole generation of young socialist intellectuals in Britain, including G. D. H. Cole, R. H. Tawney, and Bertrand Russell. Because it was a movement of intellectuals, guild socialism has been more richly documented than other, more socially significant movements. We already have two studies of Orage, by Paul Selver and Philip Mairet, not to mention a shelf of books on guild socialism by its exponents. What then remains to be added?

Wallace Martin's book is a study of *The New Age* rather than of Orage or guild socialism. Much of it is literary history, but for the historian of socialism and social movements it makes rewarding reading. The journal originated, like its contemporaries, *The Nation* and *The New Statesman*, out of changes in the nature of the daily and periodical press, which failed to satisfy the need for political commentary and serious and experimental literature. The political weeklies and the "Little Reviews" appeared in Edwardian Britain to cater to this need. Socialism plus art and literature was the mixture adopted by *The New Age*; within its pages Shaw, Wells, Chesterton, and Belloc debated the cultural and spiritual meaning of socialism. After 1910 Orage began to move away from Fabianism and the Labour party and espoused guild socialism. In the medievalism of Morris and A. J. Pentty the contributors to *The New Age* found an alternative to

collectivism. From T. E. Hulme and Ramiro de Maeztu, a conservative ideological basis for guild socialism was derived, so that from 1912 to 1918 *The New Age* managed to combine a conservative theory of value with a socialist political philosophy. This probably marked the high tide of the journal's achievement. Thereafter Orage took up social credit and psychoanalysis, and support began to drop off. In 1922 he left *The New Age* for occult religion.

Martin has written a valuable monograph on aspects of Edwardian culture, and the book is enlivened with contemporary caricatures by "Tom Titt."

University of Wisconsin

JOHN F. C. HARRISON

DOUBLE DIPLOMA: THE LIFE OF SIR PIERSON DIXON, DON AND DIPLOMAT. By *Piers Dixon*. Foreword by *Lord Butler*. (London: Hutchinson of London. 1968. Pp. xiii, 321. 55s.)

SIR Piers Dixon was one of many very able young men who entered the British Foreign Service in the decade after World War I. His first foreign posts were at Madrid, Ankara, and Rome. He then returned to the Foreign Office, where in 1943 he became principal private secretary to Eden and later to Bevin. In 1948 he went as ambassador to Prague and, in 1954, after four more years at home, was appointed permanent British representative at the United Nations. He was ambassador in Paris from 1960 to his retirement early in 1965. He died in April of that year.

The book, written by a son and daughter, begins with a short account of Dixon's work as a classical fellow of a Cambridge college before he decided upon a diplomatic career and is thenceforward based on his own diaries. As one would expect, the diaries reveal no official secrets, but Dixon was a shrewd observer whose comments on people and things are well written and always worth reading. He went with Eden to the Mediterranean in 1941 and was with Churchill and Eden in Greece in December 1944; he attended the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences and accompanied Bevin at the sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers between 1945 and 1947. His best description is of the meeting of Greek political leaders in Athens in 1944, where, in a room dimly lit by hanging oil lamps and with the sound of rifle and gunfire close at hand, Churchill opened the proceedings that led to the recognition of Archbishop Damaskinos as regent of Greece. Dixon's account of the Suez crisis of 1956, when he was at the United Nations, is a good example of the way in which a British civil servant can honorably expound and defend an official policy of which he personally disapproves. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book, and the highest testimony to Dixon himself, is the illumination the diaries cast on the relations (at their best) between the senior permanent officials of the British Foreign Service and their political chiefs, and the quiet skill with which the former so often employ their greater *expertise* in correcting the mistakes of the latter.

Oxford, England

LLEWELLYN WOODWARD

CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND, 1914-1964. By W. N. Medlicott. [A History of England.] (New York: David McKay Company. 1967. Pp. 614. \$10.95.)

THE theme of a history of Britain since 1914, Professor W. N. Medlicott tells us in his introduction, "must be the impact of an almost continuous series of external crises on the domestic outlook, economy, and national policy of the country." In describing that impact, he is not content to wring his hands over the erosion of military power or the shifting balance of economic strength, the decline of empire or the failure to "solve" sociopolitical tensions. Instead, while he does not delude himself about British problems and British failures, he also points out, modestly but firmly, the achievements of the period. Domestically, he sees them as the democratization of British politics, the creation of a liberal (and essentially Liberal) welfare state, the acceptance of an uneven but basic social revolution, a new industrial and commercial revolution, and, finally, a revolution in mass communication media, the most striking effect of which has been the virtual end of rural isolation. Abroad, he emphasizes the tough and skillful performance of Great Britain in two major wars, the transformation of the Empire into the complex modern Commonwealth of Nations, the successful fostering of international organizations seeking to organize peace, the development of a special relationship with the United States, and the maintenance of Britain's role as the central banker of the sterling area.

It may be argued that certain of these achievements are rather illusory. Whether Great Britain, for example, has even yet shaken off many of the inherited handicaps of its economic primacy in the nineteenth century to effect a "new industrial and commercial revolution" is at least dubious. That it has maintained its central role in the sterling area without paying an exorbitant cost can certainly be disputed. That the special relationship with the United States is really very significant might be difficult to demonstrate. But these and other generalizations are the prerogative of an author whose mastery of the voluminous monographic materials and whose liberal good sense are evident in every paragraph.

In short, this is an important book that takes its place with C. L. Mowat's *Britain between the Wars* and A. J. P. Taylor's *English History, 1914-1945*, as one of the three most valuable general studies of recent British history. In particular, since it covers much of the same ground, it will be compared, and has been compared (*Times Literary Supplement*, March 14, 1968), with the Taylor volume. The styles of the two are so different that the difference may tend to obscure how much they have in common. Taylor's story is told brilliantly, in idiosyncratic flashes of insight, often with obvious impatience over the intractability of the data. Medlicott's is systematic, temperate, careful in its judgments, somewhat skeptical of sweeping general statements. Yet both authors agree that the lean years after World War I, so vividly rooted in the popular recollection of the present older generation, were considerably less bleak than would appear in contemporary memory. And while Medlicott, quite rightly in my judgment, does not share Taylor's views of the motivations of Hitler's foreign policy, the two are surprisingly in agreement on the forces that led to the appeasement policy of the 1930's. Taylor, tending to see that policy as a rational response to a series

of international problems, seems to argue that its major weakness was that it did not go far enough; Medlicott, even though he is critical of the tactics employed by the makers of British foreign policy, suggests that in the circumstances they had little room for maneuver within the framework of a virtually inevitable series of choices. Both, in addition, evidence considerable charity toward political leaders whose reputations can hardly be said to have sparkled in recent years. To be sure, Taylor is rather more generous to David Lloyd George, Stanley Baldwin, and Ramsay MacDonald, but Medlicott shares many of his revisionist interpretations and goes on to show us Neville Chamberlain as an understandable if not an attractive figure struggling with a rigorously binding set of alternatives.

To say that *Contemporary England, 1914-1964*, is now the most solid and useful account of recent British history is not meant to damn with a patronizing cliché. Medlicott makes no pretense of striving for a constant barrage of clever phrases, amusing footnotes, or striking obiter dicta, but he writes with a balance and a wisdom tempered by a dry note of humor that makes his account a genuine pleasure to read. What better praise for a book that will clearly be a major reference work for years to come?

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

THE BLAST OF WAR, 1939-1945. By *Harold Macmillan*. (New York: Harper and Row. [1968.] Pp. xiii, 623. \$11.95.)

AFTER *Winds of Change* comes *The Blast of War*. Macmillan's first volume carried him from birth to age forty-five in 584 pages; his second devotes 623 pages to six years. But the earlier book, after a lively start in Macmillan's Edwardian youth, suffered grievously from *longueurs* and potted history, better sought from whence it came (mainly Charles Mowat's estimable *Britain between the Wars*). *The Blast*, however, maintains its *élan* superbly. Macmillan's war was confined to the North African and Italian campaigns, plus the short, sharp (and for him clearly formative) Greek civil war of 1944. As a politician on mission, first to Eisenhower's command and later to Alexander's, Macmillan at last had a field for action where his talents could find expression and at the same time develop and mature. Coping with such difficult yet supremely challenging personalities as De Gaulle and Churchill; making sense of the often ambiguous role assigned him; facing danger (he was very nearly incinerated in a plane crash in Algiers)—such experiences, clearly, were the making of "Supermac," deft and unflappable, who rose to power in the Britain of the 1950's.

Wisely, and in contrast with Volume I, Macmillan writes only about what he experienced firsthand. There are few startling revelations, but many quotations from the author's well-kept diaries are enlightening and evocative. He finds De Gaulle "one of those horses which either refuse to come to the starting gate at all, or insist in careering down the course before the signal is given, or suddenly elect to run on a racecourse different from the one appointed. . . . There is something almost comical in the alternation between his refusal to accept an invitation to come to North Africa and his insistence upon arriving as an uninvited guest." He came to like, and admire, Ike, but on Americans generally he tends to be jaundiced: "But of course the Americans do not read—or at

any rate comprehend—history.” He makes quite clear, without vainglorious boasting, that he often dared to stand up to his formidable master, Churchill, and gives a remarkably balanced, lifelike, and affectionate picture of the Prime Minister. He also rescues several Churchillian epigrams for posterity. Here is Winston on the disadvantages of the chiefs of staff system: “‘Why you may take the most gallant sailor, the most intrepid airman, or the most audacious soldier, put them at a table together—what do you get? *The sum of their fears.*’ (This with a frightful sibilant emphasis.)”

Stanford University

RICHARD W. LYMAN

THE IRISH QUESTION, 1800–1922. By *Lawrence J. McCaffrey*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1968. Pp. 202. \$6.95.)

HISTORICAL analogy is a delicate business. Every attempt risks denying to the moment in history its tangled uniqueness. Yet to reject analogy comes close to rejecting the assumption that experience has anything common, repeatable, even communicable. And so it is a pleasure to encounter, in a book like Mr. McCaffrey's concise and balanced essay, the illuminating uses to which good analogy can be put.

The story of the Irish Question, McCaffrey demonstrates, holds remarkable parallels for much of modern history. The Irish, for example, played a part in the United Kingdom similar to that of the Negro in American history. Irishmen served a useful economic function, filling menial jobs Englishmen refused. The happy, stage Irishmen or the lawless, wild Irish have their obvious black equivalents. Both the Irish and the Negro have been “convenient targets for the release of inferiority complexes and sadistic tendencies.” McCaffrey's point might be carried further. Revolution came for the Irish, as for the Negroes of our day, in counterpoint to a movement of conscience on the part of the Establishment.

McCaffrey notes some more extensive implications of modern Irish history. Daniel O'Connell's methods of agitation had their consequences for democratic and liberal causes abroad; the Royal Irish Constabulary was an instance of the “para-military police force”; the guerrilla tactics of the IRA during “The Troubles” looked much like those in later wars of national liberation. And the fate of the Irish literary renaissance was that of artists in other lands and times who will give themselves to some movement, or institution, that cannot contain or ultimately respect their vision.

McCaffrey also helps us toward a rethinking of politics in Victorian Britain. The Irish Question, he demonstrates, had something to do with the transformation of the Liberals from dogmatists of laissez faire into proponents of advanced social legislation. And McCaffrey's commentaries on nineteenth-century British governments cut against the favorable Whig interpretation, even as his hard look at the Irish nationalists is an antidote to Hibernian filiopietism. In sum, the author has set forth with skill and economy the complications and ironies of the Irish past. He has written an imaginative interpretation well suited for students of modern British history and literature.

University of Massachusetts

JOSEPH M. HERNON, JR.

CONSTANCE DE MARKIEVICZ IN THE CAUSE OF IRELAND. By *Jacqueline Van Voris*. ([Amherst:] University of Massachusetts Press. 1967. Pp. 384. \$7.50.)

THIS biography of Constance de Markievicz, born into the Gore-Booth family and married to a Polish count, is at the same time an excellent history of the Irish Republican movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Rebellion recently spotlighting Ireland's long struggle for independence, it was to be expected that many works would be published dealing with this topic.

Young Constance had the traditional upbringing of the landed gentry, except that her family had the reputation of benevolence to their tenants. This, coupled with Constance's love of horseback riding and excitement, made her known throughout her county as a "wild, kind girl." When she and her new husband settled down in Dublin she became active in the theater, both as an early patron of the Abbey Theatre and later as an actress. Through this, she came into contact with Sinn Féin and joined that movement in 1908. According to Miss Van Voris, it was the Countess' love of excitement and adventure, combined with the flourish and drama she acquired through the theater, that made her such a colorful figure in the 1916 uprising, as well as in later incidents.

The Countess founded the Boy's Brigade of the Sinn Féin and even gave them shooting lessons. Her actions and speeches landed her in jail repeatedly, and this eventually destroyed her health.

The thorough bibliography, indicating considerable research that the author has done in and around Dublin, is itself a source history of the uprising and the years following. It is noteworthy that such an interesting and well-written work about so colorful a figure in the Irish Republican movement was not written sooner.

Adelphi-Suffolk College

WILLARD HOGEBOOM

HISTOIRE DU LANGUEDOC. Published under the direction of *Philippe Wolff*. ["Univers de la France": Collection d'histoires régionales.] ([Toulouse:] Privat, Éditeur. 1967. Pp. 540. 69.20 fr.)

DURING the past few years France has seen several significant developments in the writing of local and regional history. New periodicals have been established that promote the writing of such history on a high level of professional competence. Bibliographical tools that have appeared include, for example, Wolff and Dollinger, *Bibliographie d'histoire des villes de France* (1967), and historians have collaborated to produce histories of multiple authorship such as the imposing two-volume *Histoire de Besançon* (1964) published under the direction of Claude Fohlen.

In this larger development the present *Histoire du Languedoc*, the first title in a promising new series of regional histories under the general editorship of Philippe Wolff, is an important milestone. Besides Wolff's four chapters on Languedoc's medieval history, there are chapters by Nougier, Gallet de Santerre, Le Roy Ladurie, Dermigny, Sentou, and Brunet, each writing on the chronological period of his specialization.

Although the book's twelve chapters march steadily from prehistoric times to

the present, none of these historians "de la jeune école" offers narrative history in the old style. They are primarily interested in institutional development and in problems of economic and social history. In his excellent chapter on the sixteenth century, for example, Le Roy Ladurie gives us treatments of demographic trends, agriculture, class structure, and early urbanization. Later, Dermigny discusses the impact of the revocation of the Edict on Nantes: 20,000 to 25,000 refugees left Languedoc, but the influence of this migration was complex and not entirely negative. Similar problem-oriented discussions follow one another through all the chapters of the book.

This is not intended as an erudite history for other historians. The pace is brisk, the style clear and vivid. A brief, incisive bibliographical essay is appended to each chapter, but no footnotes encumber the pages. The volume is attractively bound and richly illustrated with photographs, engravings, maps, charts, graphs, and line drawings. Readers interested mainly in the entertainment value of history may be deterred by the social and economic emphasis, but, judged by its objectives, this work must be considered remarkably successful. If succeeding volumes maintain the same standard, this new series will be essential to libraries and to students of French history.

University of Utah

DAVIS BITTON

AMIENS, CAPITALE PROVINCIALE: ÉTUDE SUR LA SOCIÉTÉ URBAINES AU 17^e SIÈCLE. By *Pierre Deyon*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section, Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton. 1967. Pp. x, 606.)

IN this study of the textile city of Amiens from 1600 to about 1720 Pierre Deyon exhibits not only the techniques and sources we have come to associate with the *Sixième Section*, but also his own unique craftsmanship and imagination. Inspired by Pierre Goubert's masterpiece on the Beauvaisis as well as by the price histories of C.-E. Labrousse and Jean Meuvret, the institutional history of Roland Mousnier, and the imaginative scope of Fernand Braudel, Deyon executes a work that is admirably balanced and, by French standards, remarkably economical in size—one six-hundred-page volume, including one hundred pages of graphs, tables, and charts.

The book is divided into four major sections. The first section treats demography and price fluctuations based on the parish registers, *mercuriales*, municipal taxes, and hospital accounts. What emerges is an urban society of thirty thousand people in demographic and economic stagnation from 1630 to 1690, evidence of economic "crisis" at least in France. The second and largest section concerns the economy of Amiens. Deyon describes the slow development of modern commercial techniques, the gradual expansion of bills of exchange, improved accounting, and the conquest of wider markets ultimately transcending national boundaries. The author is especially successful in relating the monetary policy of the royal government to the competitive strength of Amiens woollens in the face of the *défi anglais et hollandais*. By a novel use of the regulations of apprenticeship and the reports of inspectors of manufacturers, Deyon explores the multistage process of textile manufacture. He establishes the relationship of merchant to *fabricant*,

of master to journeyman, of town government to guild, and of guild to rural competitor.

Part III considers the society of Amiens as a whole. Here the inspiration of Adeline Daumard and François Furet is most evident. The marriage contract and inventory after death are added to the wealth and variety of fiscal documentation. On one end of the social scale one finds the well-to-do officeholders of justice and finance closely seconded by the liberal professions and *rentiers*. On the other end of the scale were the mass of shopkeepers, artisans, journeymen, household servants, and the growing number of paupers, vagabonds, and "undesirables." Between these two sections of the population was a small group of some twenty families of wholesale merchants who, though developing greater commercial acumen, were constantly deserting trade for the lure of land, office, and sometimes nobility. In a manner similar to the robe families of Dijon, the officials of Amiens—merchants of a previous generation—accumulated the choice domains of the Picard countryside. As an explanation of this commercial decapitation, Deyon stresses the values of aristocracy and Church, Jesuit as well as Jansenist, in maintaining a "Spanish" contempt for productive labor. Deyon is especially adept at making his sources yield more than statistical data. From inventories after death he is able to chart changes in reading habits, tastes in art, or religious observance and to suggest mutations in the attitudes and values of each social group. Deyon is also able to paint: the world of the master craftsman—tiny houses facing broken pavements on half-hidden courtyards or narrow *ruelles*—comes back to life.

The last section combines, not altogether happily, the religious and political life of the city. The Church was plagued by tensions between bishop, cathedral chapter, and parish clergy, which inflamed doctrinal differences, especially over Jansenism. Despite an increase in the number of regular orders over the century, the Church at Amiens was unable to solve the problem of the poor and condoned the municipal policy of confining paupers to workhouses. At the same time, the power of the local magistrates was reduced by the incursions of Ludovican centralization personified in a more vigorous intendancy. In both the religious and political domains, Deyon sees other aspects of a society in "crisis."

This remarkable book performs an even more important function than answering for Amiens some of the general questions historians have posed about the "seventeenth-century crisis." It carefully analyzes the social physiognomy of a provincial textile center over a century and clearly demonstrates that no simple notion of social class can help us understand the complex society of the old regime or the values and attitudes it spawned.

Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT FORSTER

THE RISE OF THE CISTERCIAN STRICT OBSERVANCE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE. By *Louis J. Lekai*, *S. O. Cist.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1968. Pp. vii, 261. \$10.00.)

THE author of this valuable study is well qualified to produce a definitive work on the subject since he is a member of the Cistercian order and professor of history at the University of Dallas, has pursued extensive research in a variety of archives, and has published a lengthy series of preliminary studies. The present

work is the fruit of much thought and labor and examines an important but neglected aspect of the Catholic Renaissance in France during the seventeenth century. Specifically, it traces the growth within the Cistercian Order of the Strict Observance, a largely spontaneous reform movement that partially represented a return to the true spirit of the Benedictine Rule and was characterized by very strict regulations, continuing penance, and, most characteristically, perpetual abstinence, thereby contrasting with the older Common Observance, which remained widespread within the order. After indicating the laudable and high-minded origins of the movement, the author shows how personal and factional rivalries quickly absorbed the energies of the leaders of both observances; they first took their disputes all the way up to Cardinal Richelieu and then continued their fantastically devious and determined maneuvering for control well into the reign of Louis XIV. Indeed, much of the book is devoted to recounting the vicissitudes of this incredibly complex power struggle since it was the focal point of the quarrels that unfortunately rent the order for several generations. The author does not hesitate to expose the record of intrigue and to assign responsibility. He also describes extensively the exact nature of the spiritual life that the Strict Observance evoked and gives statistics concerning its spread within the order. Not least among the book's merits are its documentation and copious bibliography which will aid all researchers in the religious history of the period.

Certain minor weaknesses may be mentioned. The chief actors in the drama do not stand out as personalities, but are usually treated as mere components in the web of intrigue. Also, Cardinal Richelieu was probably not so exclusively power-minded in this instance as is indicated since the record shows that he was genuinely interested in the cause of monastic reform for religious purposes. On the other hand, the strength of the book lies in its placing the rise of the Strict Observance in the context of the times. The author shows vividly how the *frondeur* spirit, so characteristic of the age, caused an essentially internal quarrel to burgeon to the point where it embroiled great nobles, parlements, Gallicans, ultramontanes, and the highest authorities in Church and state in both Paris and Rome. In addition, the author carefully delineates the place of the Strict Observance within the Catholic Renaissance by indicating its affinities with broader phases of the movement but showing that it remained distinct and limited to the Cistercian order. He is undoubtedly correct in observing that the perpetual quarrels within the order wasted talents and energies that might better have been devoted to religious purposes, but the movement did survive and retained significance in later generations. This work should become the standard authority on its subject.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

THE NAPOLEONIC REVOLUTION. By *Robert B. Holtman*. [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1967. Pp. 225. \$4.50.)

THERE has been a striking development in historical writing about Napoleon, as indeed in historical writing in general, away from narrative, such as the familiar works of Rose and Fournier, which once would pretty well have sufficed for a doctoral general examination, and toward what has to be called analysis.

This development has gone about as far as it can in Professor Holtman's *The Napoleonic Revolution*. Chapter II, "The Career of Napoleon Bonaparte," does indeed outline, in succinct form and with due respect to chronological sequence, the main facts of his life. The rest of this brief but well-nourished book is devoted to a series of chapters analyzing, or describing, the structure of Napoleon's social action.

The chapter titles indicate the scope of the book: "The Militarist and Map-Changer," "The Lawgiver" (dealing with his political institutions as well as with the Napoleonic Code), "The Financier and Economist," "Relations with the Church," "The Educator" (a very complicated chapter, no doubt necessarily), "The Propagandist," "The Catalyst of Nationalism," "The Legacy." The book is clearly written, and probably packs into brief compass more information about Napoleonic institutions than is elsewhere readily available. The footnotes have sometimes been unduly limited. Holtman very carefully notes quotations he has taken from other historians, but he does not often supply the exact source of many interesting quotations from Napoleon himself and such contemporaries as Metternich.

The late Pieter Geyl would almost certainly have classed the book with those "for" Napoleon. Holtman does his best to bring out the failures, the obsessions, the moral weaknesses of Napoleon's dictatorship, and as a good American he is quite free from temptations toward Napoleon worship in the manner of a Madelin. Nevertheless, as his title indicates, he finds that Napoleon is one of the founders of modern Western society and civilization, that he remained if not precisely what Samuel Taylor Coleridge called "the child and champion of Jacobinism," at least the preserver and transmitter of the spirit and works of the great French Revolution as a whole.

Holtman does indeed bring out, especially in his last chapter, many specific French institutions and French attitudes and traditions certainly molded under Napoleon in a form that has often lasted until the present. These range from the *lycée* through the Legion of Honor to the prefects and the undying, though perhaps nowadays somewhat languishing, idea of the unique and necessary *grandeur de la France*, with much in between. And yet there is a side of the French Revolution, a set of ideals expressed with no real vagueness as *Liberté, égalité, fraternité*, not realized, not very consonant with the facts of life today, but somehow obstinately surviving. These ideals are almost totally alien to Napoleon and his works.

Dartmouth College

CRANE BRINTON

L'AVENIR, 1830-1831: ANTOLOGIA DEGLI ARTICOLI DI FÉLICITÉ-ROBERT LAMENNAIS E DEGLI ALTRI COLLABORATORI. Introduction and notes by *Guido Verucci*. [Politica e storia: Raccolta di studi e testi, Number 14.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1967. Pp. lxiv, 771. L. 11,000.)

THIS collection, magnificently produced, is the first to appear since the collapse of the *Avenir* movement in 1832. It is, further, an improvement over the best-known previous collection, put out by the *Agence générale pour la défense de*

la liberté religieuse in 1831, in that it contains a wider and more representative selection of articles. Despite the title of the volume itself, its greatest service lies in presenting many articles by Lamennais's collaborators in the newspaper, for these are not only less well known than those of the master, but also more typical of the *Avenir* itself and better suited to convey the day-to-day polemics of the paper.

For informed scholars, then, the collection's particular strength is its reproduction of the *Avenir's* policies on leading contemporary issues such as electoral and communal reforms and the administration of the educational system; its reaction to major and minor problems of church-state relations; and its incessant debates with a variety of journalistic opponents. Further, by reproducing some of the reports of the *Agence générale*, the collection outlines the actions as well as the ideas of the *Avenir's* editors in behalf of their cause. Substantial editorial notes (in Italian, whereas the articles are in the original French) explain contemporary references in the articles. The careful introduction stresses the paper's reactions to developments in France's internal and foreign policy; it says little that is new, but usefully points up the *Avenir's* role as a daily tract for the times rather than a source of carefully reasoned liberal Catholic thought.

The collection includes all of Lamennais's articles, whether signed or anonymous, but also many by Lacordaire, De Caux, and others. To an extent, Lamennais is overrepresented, but his colleagues have sufficient space; a problem exists only for those scholars who insist on identifying Lamennais's theories with the whole work of the *Avenir*. Unfortunately, and this is the only flaw in the collection, the introduction makes no distinction among the editors and largely fails to note the evolution of opinion during the newspaper's short life. Too often, then, Lamennais's mature views are taken as typical. It is right for Lamennais and Gerbet by 1831, but wrong for the other editors, to stress permanent separation of church and state; it is possible to claim that by late 1831 Lamennais's views in effect eliminated any real role for the state, but this was not true of the *Avenir's* other editors. Other important divergences are neglected; the conservatism of Harel's views on communal organization is ignored, as is the growing disagreement between Montalembert and Lamennais on how to deal with reactionary Catholics. Once the problem is realized, the collected articles themselves fortunately provide the corrective for they reveal the varied interests of the major editors. This collection is important above all because it shows the different paths open to liberal Catholics in their first major effort and the pressure of events that could, if only for a time, bring unity against common enemies.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

PETER N. STEARNS

L'ACTUALITÉ DE PROUDHON: COLLOQUE DES 24 ET 25 NOVEMBRE 1965. [Centre National d'Étude des Problèmes de Sociologie et d'Économie Européennes.] ([Brussels:] Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1967. Pp. 258. 390 fr.B.)

THE "timeliness" of Proudhon is probably even more apparent since the French student revolution and general strike movements of May 1968 than it was in November 1965, when this important conference was held in Belgium to com-

memorate the hundredth anniversary of Proudhon's death. His *bête noire*, the unitary, centralized, bureaucratic nation-state, continues to fulfill his most despairing prophecies, whether one looks at the capitalist or the proletarian versions. The Proudhonian formulas—federalism, self-government, primacy of the individual—seem to exercise an increasing appeal.

The present collection testifies to something like a renaissance of Proudhon studies, at least in Europe. Most of the authors represent sociology, economics, or law, reflecting Proudhon's own chief interests, but there is much to interest the general historian, and specialists in social movements and ideas will find a number of these papers especially valuable.

There are two important studies of Proudhon's relation to nineteenth-century radical movements. "Proudhon et Marx," by Georges Gurvitch, the dean of French Proudhon scholars, shows that on many fundamental issues the two great adversaries were by no means as far apart as some of their followers, particularly those of Marx, have contended. *The Poverty of Philosophy* was directed more against Hegel than Proudhon, and "the invincible and reciprocal antipathy between Proudhon and Marx was the result of purely personal feelings more than it was the result of ideas." Mme. Annie Kriegel's able but all too brief discussion of "Le syndicalisme révolutionnaire de Proudhon" shows, though without making exaggerated claims, that in the years around 1900, when the French labor movement was a battleground of socialist and syndicalist tendencies, the ideas of Proudhon were very much alive; her paper also has the merit of stressing the diversity of Proudhon's heirs in contrast with the relative homogeneity of the Marxian tradition. Her conclusion has an "actuality" of its own: "there is still perhaps a chance that the Proudhonian wager may succeed in joining socialism and liberty."

A useful analysis of Proudhon's economic thought is contributed by Jean Bancal, and this study is complemented by Joseph Lajugie's "Les conceptions économiques de Proudhon." In the area of political thought the two articles by Bernard Voyenne ("Le fédéralisme de Proudhon") and Georges Goriely ("Proudhon et les nationalités") present some less familiar aspects of Proudhon's intransigent libertarianism. Here, for example, we see his correct intuitions with respect to the less desirable possibilities latent in Mazzini's democratic nationalism and in Marx's authoritarian centralism. Among possible antidotes to these "alienating" forces, Daniel Guérin discusses Proudhon's ideas on "l'autogestion ouvrière." A long and richly documented study of Proudhon's relations with Belgium by John Bartier completes the list of papers, and the thoughtful "Conclusions" contributed by Raymond Rifflet not only sum up the major themes of the meeting, but offer many provocative ideas and suggestions for further work on Proudhon.

Northern Illinois University

RALPH H. BOWEN

FRANCE IN THE AGE OF THE SCIENTIFIC STATE. By *Robert Gilpin*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1968. Pp. xii, 474. \$12.50.)

LE DÉFI AMÉRICAIN. By *Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber*. ([Paris:] Denoël. 1967. Pp. 342. 18.50 fr.)

THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE. By J.-J. Servan-Schreiber. With a foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Translated from the French by Ronald Steel. (New York: Atheneum. 1968. Pp. xviii, 291. \$6.95.)

IN these two studies of contemporary affairs, both authors examine the same basic issue: the large and growing scientific and technological gap between the United States on the one hand and Western Europe, France in particular, on the other. Gilpin, the academic scholar (a political scientist at Princeton University), approaches the subject with calm objectivity and relentless thoroughness. Servan-Schreiber, the Parisian journalist and publisher, writes with more verve, driven by a passionate desire to alert Frenchmen to the American challenge before it is too late.

The authors have used many of the same sources—reports by various public agencies and by foundations, as well as recent studies of economic and scientific development—and they come to similar conclusions. They find that in the last decade the United States has achieved a remarkable lead over the rest of the world in science and technology. This has given American business enterprises a tremendous edge in their competition with European concerns. They have known so well how to take advantage of this that they have drawn more benefit from the opening of the Common Market than have firms native to the countries of the six members. The military and political implications of American economic and scientific leadership have concerned French leaders in particular in the 1960's, but neither Gilpin nor Servan-Schreiber thinks that France has been very effective in meeting the challenge. Nor does either hold out much hope for France or Western Europe as a whole to reduce the American lead and avoid becoming politically subservient to the United States.

While Servan-Schreiber takes the historical background for granted, Gilpin examines it and detects the beginning of France's relative decline in science in the mid-nineteenth century. At that point the political and social leadership failed to break the system of secondary and higher education out of the Napoleonic mold. While this system had at first fostered research by bringing brilliant scholars together in such institutions as the *École Polytechnique*, ultimately the extreme administrative centralization, the cleavages among educational institutions, the national examination system, the lack of increased financial support, and the dearth of educational leadership brought stagnation. Gilpin is especially critical of the academic conservatism of the individual professors in the *facultés* and shows how they tended to oppose innovation and excellence throughout the Third Republic.

The scientific and political leadership that emerged after the Second World War gave more attention to serious reform of scientific educational and research institutions, and Gilpin finds the record of the Fourth Republic impressive in promoting science and technology. He describes in detail the policies of the Fifth Republic, wading stoically through the alphabet soup of government agencies organized and reorganized to find and finance a national science policy. He asserts that by French standards the country's science and technology have made startling gains in the last generation, but, when measured on an international scale, these gains shrink to Lilliputian levels. Despite recent and prospective institutional

changes, France and other West European nations are, he believes, just too small individually to confront the Americans in science. His survey of France's part in international endeavors such as Concorde aircraft and Euratom turns up few successes. The country's leaders are trying to develop science and technology for the later twentieth century using political, educational, and social attitudes and institutions formed in the nineteenth century. The basic decisions must be political ones, and Gilpin sees little evidence that the French are prepared to make bold ones; they fear that if France changes very much it will no longer be France.

Servan-Schreiber, less cautious and sophisticated in his analyses, more sweeping and strident in his generalizations, also concludes that a Europeanization of research and development is the only answer if the French wish to avoid losing control of their own destiny. Not finding this under present French leadership, he proposes a federal political organization of Europe to organize and promote a response to the American challenge. His book has been widely read in France, and an American edition appeared in July 1968. Gilpin's study is not a history of French science but an excellent discussion of French science policy, valuable to historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Servan-Schreiber's is a tract, a call to arms, that historians will find useful as a primary source for French political and intellectual history of the 1960's. The prices of these two books suggest that the French do hold a commanding lead over the United States in the science and technology of publishing books at reasonable cost.

University of Cincinnati

JAMES M. LAUX

LÉON BLUM ET LE PARTI SOCIALISTE, 1872-1934. By *Gilbert Ziebura*.

Translated by *Jean Duplex*. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Number 154.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 405. 40.00 fr.)

THIS is a French translation of a very fine volume originally written in German by a German political scientist who is now a professor at the Free University of Berlin. The original was published in 1963 under the slightly different, and somewhat more accurate, title *Léon Blum: Theorie und Praxis einer sozialistischen Politik, I. 1872 bis 1934*. It was then clearly projected as the first of two volumes. The present edition seems somewhat less firm about the promise of the sequel volume, but in comprehensiveness and scope this work has every right to stand on its own.

Professor Ziebura's book undertakes a close analysis of Blum's socialism from pre-1914 days to February 6, 1934. It is not a political biography of the French Socialist leader but rather a detailed and incisive examination of the origins and development of Blum's political philosophy against the background of French parliamentary realities. For the study of these years it is unsurpassed. After a careful reconstruction of the years before the First World War, it proceeds to Blum's leadership of the party after 1919. All of the subtleties and nuances of the Socialist leader steering his party between the Scylla of political isolation for reasons of Socialist doctrine and the Charybdis of complete integration into the French parliamentary system (and collaboration with the Radicals) are explored

in depth and minute detail. Occasionally the detail even becomes a little overwhelming.

The copious documentation is impeccable, and only one who has toiled in the same vineyard can appreciate the industry that has gone into the research. The statistical appendixes and electoral maps are also valuable additions to the text itself. From an editorial viewpoint the cross-referencing of footnotes to earlier chapters inconveniences the reader and hardly saves space over the repetition of short titles. The extensive bibliography would be more useful if it differentiated between major and less significant works. The reference to the Blum biography by Geoffrey Fraser and Thadée Natanson (a kind of campaign biography written in 1937) as the "only authorized biography" needs to be corrected. Although the phrase appears on the title page, the book's publisher, Victor Gollancz, tried to alert reviewers that the authorization had been withdrawn.

The present French translation reads smoothly and seems faithful to the original, but do Frenchmen say "*numériquement parlant*" or call a "one-sided" argument "*unilatéral*"? Are these German (or English) locutions that have slipped in? Missing from the French version are the splendid family pictures of Blum in the early years and the author's poignant dedication of his book to a brother who fell on the western front in the summer of 1944. Blum, the lifelong champion of peace, disarmament, and internationalism, would have appreciated that dedication.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

1940: THE FALL OF FRANCE. By *André Beaufre*. Translated from the French by *Desmond Flower*. With a preface by *Sir Basil Liddell Hart*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xxi, 215, xii. \$5.95.)

HERE is a blend of autobiography, memoir, historical sketch, and commentary. Not least interesting is the evocation of General Beaufre's early career in one of the last imperial playgrounds, Morocco, watched over by Lyautey in his waning days as proconsul, by the sparkling minarets of Fès, the tall waving palms of Marrakesh, and, far off, the quiet, long line of the Atlas Mountains. But most of the work recounts a cheerless theme: the decline of the army after 1918, the descent to war, and the military collapse of the republic. The author considers this disaster "the most important event of the twentieth century," holds that "before the Bar of History, we have a terrible responsibility," and, without claiming to write history, explains it as he can.

His final position is not clear. He seems tempted to call the game over even before the whistle blows in 1939. Yet his recollections of events thereafter suggest that he does not quite believe this to be true. He shies away from awarding prizes and punishments, but implies the guilt of Pétain and Debeney in doctrine. Disassociating himself from the cruder judgments of *Front Populaire* responsibility, he states flatly that "since 6 February 1934 France had been made up of Nationalists and Reds." He confesses to being hard on Gamelin, then claims that they all got trapped by the system, and seeks to show that even Liddell Hart joined the victims. (Liddell Hart, of course, is not having it. His preface is devoted

largely to a now-familiar explanation of what *The Defence of Britain* [1939] *did* mean.)

Some may see the ambivalence as weakness, others as honesty. Beaufre's position is difficult: an elderly general reviewing youthful opinions and actions, setting down what is in part memoirs, in part studied reflections, in part history subsequently learned, in part sensations indelibly sustained, writing, it would seem, without a full diary for reference, without a historian's dossier, perceiving the past through a quarter century and more of quite another career amid quite another order of world events, yet transfixed still by the crisis experienced at the very center that led, he believes, to the momentous collapse of the European order.

The historical chronicle is not satisfying; the witness borne is valuable. Though the details here about the Anglo-French mission to Russia in 1939 are minor, they are revealing in a way that the Moscow transcripts cannot be. The account of the French high command adds usefully to a substantial file. Yet one regrets the fragmentary nature of the evidence given by this man who, as he says, "saw everything" at *Grand Quartier Général*, "every detail." Perhaps time rather than discretion has erased much of it from his memory. Moreover, the book has a hasty quality about it: Beaufre writes a good deal. The pity is simply that, since he rates the event so high, he did not consider more carefully what his peculiar contribution to its history might be. The author in him has not served history as the memorialist could have. Instead of his conventional, and sometimes erroneous, lines on Daladier, Halifax, or Hitler, one would gladly have had more about Weygand, Georges, and many another.

The English edition is full and generally faithful, but occasionally Beaufre's point is blunted by the translator. For instance, he wanted expressly to say that Gamelin delivered himself "in a professorial tone"—not "in his most professional tone." It makes a difference, now as then. But either in French or in English, and for the English as well as for the French, the book is significant and ably written.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

THE SPANISH PRESS, 1470-1966: PRINT, POWER, AND POLITICS. By Henry F. Schulte. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 280. \$6.95.)

THOUGH still not without its blind alleys and vexing handicaps provided by archival mazes, the labyrinth that has customarily represented Spanish history is steadily being chartered by new, sound scholarly studies. That this work by former United Press Madrid bureau chief Henry F. Schulte represents a significant contribution to such studies is perhaps the best accolade one can give it.

The title misleadingly suggests coverage restricted to a certain period. This perceptive study is actually a wholesale review of the history of Spain's fourth estate from its inception to the present. Commencing with the origins of the first public printed reports to appear on the eve of Spain's golden age, Schulte ably traces the tortuous victories and vicissitudes of Spanish news publishers through the Habsburg and Bourbon epochs, the liberal awakening and the subsequent reactionary period, through the Civil War and into the modern Age of

Franco. His treatment of the trials and tribulations of the press is scholarly, well organized, and easy to read. His research suggests that the history of the Spanish press has ebbed and flowed between the poles of evolution and regression. Schulte's major theses are that journalism in Spain has been characterized by its enforced obedience to the dictates of authoritarian governments, its persistent subjection to censorship and other controls, its use as a political instrument to reinforce or alter the *status quo*, and its role as a steppingstone in the political careers of many of Spain's leaders.

These characteristics are portrayed in thoroughly documented reviews of each of the nation's distinct historical periods, which not only record the achievements and defeats of the press but also provide an excellent summary of the highlights of Spain's over-all historical development. Schulte's work is especially notable for its inclusion of colorful vignettes portraying the major actors in the events described, as well as their struggles to assure continued "life" for a fourth estate. A slight criticism is that the author presupposes a reader's knowledge of Spain's history by commencing his study with the record of events in the Age of Franco and then returning to the era of the Catholic kings.

Carefully researched, well documented, and written in persuasive and facile style, *The Spanish Press* provides a valuable addition to the historiography of Spain. Its message is clear: a proud and virile people's voice can be temporarily muffled, but never permanently muted.

Florida Atlantic University

CHARLES J. KOLINSKI

VIGENCIA ACTUAL DE LUIS VIVES. By *Víctor Sanz*. [Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas.] (Montevideo: Universidad de la República. 1967. Pp. 222.)

THE prodigious Latin writings in a dozen fields by the Erasmian humanist Juan Luis Vives ran to eight volumes in the Valencian edition of 1782-1790; in 1947-1948 Lorenzo Ribera presented the first full Spanish translation, compressed into two volumes of 3,000 columned pages and prefaced by a 250-page discussion of life and themes. Leaning almost exclusively on Ribera's version, supplemented by some standard older commentators like Bonilla y San Martín, Menéndez Pelayo, Urmeneta, and Watson, Professor Sanz has constructed something between a survey of Vives' thought and an essay for our times. It amounts to an attractive introduction above the popular but below the scholarly level.

Sanz disarmingly confesses that "lamentably, the greater part of the bibliography on this author was not available to me." The categories he chooses for emphasis are traditional: Vives the educational theorist, the modern psychologist-philosopher, the politico-social thinker, and especially the "pacifist," wherein Sanz draws an extended comparison with Vitoria. Other faces of Vives peep through: the moralist, the historiographical innovator, the theologico-devotionalist, the precursor of Kant, the feminist, the insider in the charmed circle of northern humanists, the Valencian exile.

A historian might prefer to see a study relating Vives more closely to the early sixteenth century, as clarified by a host of recent studies, or, if an abstract approach were retained, an intensive analysis of some single theme like war and

peace. Sanz has chosen to fill a different need: to call the attention of a wider audience to this somewhat neglected genius, to provide an informed overview of his thought enlivened by as much contact with the original as possible, and to stress those aspects relevant to our own troubled times. He has accomplished this with grace, erudition, and a partisan warmth, though regrettably without an index. May his efforts inspire a few regiments from the armies of dissertation writers to invade Vives country!

University of San Francisco

ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS, S. J.

FRANCO: THE MAN AND HIS NATION. By *George Hills*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 464. \$7.95.)

ANY book that produces information on the baffling character and astonishing career of Francisco Franco is welcome, especially as he appears less a fascist relic than the creator of a system of apolitical, militaristic technocracy that several important nations have recently imitated. This work by a long-time specialist on Spain for the BBC is an earnest attempt at balanced biography that utilizes familiar sources, but is also said to be based on private revelations of Franco himself and of his associates and on hitherto inaccessible archives. The result is disappointing. Though Hills occasionally quibbles with such students as Hugh Thomas, Stanley Payne, and Gabriel Jackson, he presents little information that is new or significant. The documentation is amateurish. Carelessness in spelling and in the use of accents and commas detracts from a style that, if clear, is often colloquial and possesses little distinction.

It is helpful to have certain facts about Franco's youth set down conveniently. His proverbial aloofness stems partly from the inbred society of naval administrators in Galicia in which he grew up. Bullied at military school because of his short stature, Franco became tough and utterly contemptuous of the opinions of others. Hills stresses the enduring effect on his thinking of Spain's disaster in 1898: Franco developed a mystical love of country, a cult of bravery and honor, and a scorn for the civilians who betrayed the services. The author clarifies as much as anyone has the confusing struggles in Morocco during which Franco gained rapid promotion and respect for his courage and abilities. Always an ascetic, meticulous plodder, he began during this period to read widely on social questions, but kept his thoughts to himself.

Franco's role during the last years of Alfonso XIII and the republic, until February 1936, was honorable if undefined. With great reluctance he joined the rebellion and soon became the nationalist commander in chief. Hills praises Franco's military direction of the war and his deft handling of his allies and supporters. The author minimizes the importance of German and Italian aid and depicts Franco as less heartless than many have charged. He not only accepts the figure of a third of a million deaths in the conflict; he also believes that postwar executions were far fewer than other students have estimated.

Though Franco had little experience in government or diplomatic affairs, his cunning and patience enabled him to immobilize his enemies and to curb such discordant elements in his curious system as the army, Church, Falange, and monarchists. Hills stresses his great skill in side-stepping Hitler's demands at a

time when Spain was at Germany's mercy. Believing that Spain had little interest in World War II other than turning Communism back, Franco was, the author seems to judge, a good steward for his country. Triumphantly surviving the United Nations boycott, Spain emerged in the early 1950's as a useful base for the West.

Despite much recovery, Spain encountered deep trouble because of economic nationalism. Yet Franco was statesmanlike enough to reverse his policies and to bring in competent technocrats, so that by 1961 Spain began a dramatic economic growth and with it experienced a considerable mellowing of the regime. Perhaps Hills makes too much of Spain's improvement since 1939, since other countries have suffered more destruction and enjoyed greater recovery without enduring dictatorship. An enigma to all, including the author, Franco has said that he is willing to be judged only by God and by history. Servants of the latter may find Hills's book of some value.

New York University

JOHN EDWIN FAGG

ACTA HISTORIAE NEERLANDICA: HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE NETHERLANDS. Volume II. [Published under the auspices of the Netherlands Committee of Historical Science.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. 300. 52 gls.)

THIS admirable series attempts to make the fruits of recent Dutch historical scholarship available to a wide public. The present volume contains five articles, three synopses of doctoral dissertations, and one bibliographical survey; they are presented in English (seven), French (one), and German (one). And there is an even wider range of subject matter than of format, though the main emphasis is on social and economic history. Thus H. W. Pleket writes on "Technology and Society in the Graeco-Roman World"; B. H. Slicher van Bath discusses "The Yields of Different Crops (mainly cereals) in Relation to the Seed c. 810-1820"; A. J. Manning contributes an article on "Der Verein Deutscher Ingenieure und der Nationalsozialismus"; B. E. de Muinck examines "A Regent's Family Budget about the year 1700"; I. J. Brugmans provides a bibliographical survey of "The Economic History of the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th Century." The collection, remarkably interesting and of a very high general level of quality, is rounded out by four essays on varied political topics. J. G. Stork-Penning discusses "*The Ordeal of the States*—Some Remarks on Dutch Politics during the War of the Spanish Succession"; J. D. Thijs explains "The Influence on Asia of the Rise of Japan and Her Victory over Russia"; D. J. Roorda summarizes his dissertation of the same title in "Party and Faction"; and J. Haak does the same in a synopsis entitled "La discussion sur la constitution civile du clergé."

It is likely that Brugmans and Slicher van Bath are the only two names well known on this side of the Atlantic, and their present contributions are masterly. But the younger authors deserve to be better known to nonspecialists than they are at present, and they are given a fine opportunity in this sumptuous volume. As a group, the synopses are less successful than the articles; some topics cannot be treated at such short length. Roorda's summary, for example, cannot do justice to the thesis of his remarkable book *Partij en Factie* (1961). Thus the

present series should lead more Americans to learn the language rather than to think that a knowledge of Dutch is no longer necessary. It is to be hoped that in succeeding volumes the editors will require that the translations be carried out by professionals. One or two of the authors should have followed Haak's example and engaged a translator, but the meanings are always clear even if all the selections are not uniformly graceful.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

STEPHEN B. BAXTER

THE EARLY VASAS: A HISTORY OF SWEDEN, 1523-1611. By *Michael Roberts*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 509. \$16.00.)

THIS scholarly book is the first and will long be the standard work in English on the subject. Placing it alongside Professor Roberts' two volumes on *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden, 1611-1632* (1953; 1958), one now has a very detailed conventional history of Sweden's rise to Great-Power status. There is an excellent critical bibliography for those who wish to dig more deeply. Much historical literature that has been summarized and synthesized judiciously supports this book. It is, however, possible that too much—both narrative and analysis—has been attempted; the book is rather torpid reading. There are far too many names, dates, places, battles, and Swedish terms and phrases. Swedish forms should clearly not be used for Danish and German names, and a good practice would be a consistent use of the English version of such names as Christian, Frederick, and John. The dates are so numerous that it is not surprising that there are occasional mistakes (for example, the Battle of Haraker was fought in 1464 and not in 1466), and some readers will find it difficult to distinguish the important battles from the unimportant ones. Surely the disputed Finnish border clash at Joutselkä is not in the same class as Axtorna. Often places are not adequately identified (non-Swedes cannot be expected to know that Brunkeberg is in the middle of modern Stockholm), and the cluttered, unclear, and inadequate maps will not be of much help. Roberts' use of Swedish words and phrases is too lavish and often unnecessary. Some will seek succor in the glossary which is not, however, always satisfactory. *Frihetsmil*, for example, is translated as "the area within a radius of one Swedish mile of a manor," requiring the reader to seek a reference work that will inform him that a Swedish mile was in excess of ten kilometers. Many will despair at such phrases as *Herr Omnes*.

The book is a good treatment of Swedish political and constitutional developments, but it is less convincing when Finland, the rest of Scandinavia, or the situation in Estonia and Livonia are being discussed. Roberts is not afraid of passing judgments and usually does very well in justifying them. One may, however, boggle a little at phrases such as "Hitleresque transports" used to describe the demagogic techniques of the father of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles IX. All in all, however, this worthwhile work may be used with confidence, and it belongs in all college libraries.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

LUTHER FOR AN ECUMENICAL AGE: ESSAYS IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 450TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REFORMATION. Carl S. Meyer, Editor. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1967. Pp. 311. \$9.00.)

A somewhat belated *Festschrift*—the man it honors has been dead for four hundred years—this work reflects the increasing sophistication of American Reformation scholarship. The phalanx of contributors is impressive. Virtually all of the eminent Luther specialists in this country are represented. Five of the twelve contributions do not deal directly with Luther, however, but explore related topics; these include Lewis Spitz's essay on the Renaissance view of man, which notes that the double aspect of man's dignity and misery was maintained during both Renaissance and Reformation, and Harold Grimm's paper on the Nuremberg counselor, Lazarus Spengler. The essays directly on Luther discuss theological themes. Of these, Heinz Bluhm's study on the sources of Luther's German New Testament translation of 1522, which shows on the basis of select data that Luther used the Erasmus text, and Jaroslav Pelikan's paper on Luther's views on infant baptism, based on his 1528 tract *Concerning Rebaptism*, seem to be most perceptive.

As is inevitable in such undertakings, the quality and significance of the individual contributions differ. The real weakness, all the same, is the heterogeneity of the volume in terms of the topics of the various essays. And, since there is only random indexing, the scholarly usefulness of *Festschriften* is limited. Perhaps there should be a moratorium on such volumes, and historical anniversaries should not be allowed to disrupt it.

Duke University

HANS J. HILLERBRAND

DAS REFORMATORISCHE WERK DES ANDREAS OSIANDER. By Gottfried Seebass. [Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns Herausgegeben vom Verein für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte unter verantwortlicher Schriftleitung, Number 44.] (Nuremberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte. 1967. Pp. xxii, 308, 8 plates.)

GOTTFRIED Seebass has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the spread of the Reformation to the free imperial city of Nuremberg and its consolidation there by his penetrating study of Andreas Osiander, its foremost reformer. As preacher at the parish church of St. Lorenz from 1522 to 1548, when he went to Königsberg, Osiander placed the stamp of his character and learning on the development of the Reformation, carried the powerful city council of Nuremberg with him in matters of church organization as well as theology, and influenced the development of Protestantism as a whole.

Seebass' study takes the form, not of the usual "life and work," but of a presentation of the scholarly apparatus used in his research together with his findings. Nearly one-fourth of the volume is devoted to a discussion of the status of research on Osiander, both secondary accounts and primary sources. He describes each of the primary sources, providing publication data or location in archives and giving it a number to which he refers in the text.

Instead of presenting his material in chronological order, the author proceeds topically. He omits those topics which he considers adequately treated by Osiander's nineteenth-century biographer, Wilhelm Möller, and recommends a new, intensive analysis of the reformer's theology based on sources, some of which had not been available to Emanuel Hirsh in the preparation of his study (1919), which is still the standard reference work. The topics that Seebass discusses are Osiander's theological, humanistic, and scientific studies, including a fascinating treatment of Osiander's contacts with Copernicus, his conflicts with Catholicism, his attacks upon leaders of the radical Reformation, his participation in the religious affairs of the Holy Roman Empire from the Diet of Nuremberg in 1524 to the Schmalkaldic War, his role in consolidating the Reformation, and his theological controversies both in Nuremberg and in Königsberg.

There is scarcely a phase of the life of Osiander that Seebass does not illuminate. Particularly helpful are his discussions of Osiander's interest in astronomy, his role in the development of the Nuremberg-Brandenburg-Ansbach Church Order of 1533, his friendship with Archbishop Cranmer of England, and his influence on the city council of Nuremberg. Seebass provides an excellent illustration of the fact that the councils of the free imperial cities, like the rulers of larger political entities, relied heavily on their preachers as religious advisers. A discussion of the extant portraits of Osiander, plates of which are included in the volume, is appended.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

LANDESHERR UND LANDSTÄNDE IM HOCHSTIFT OSNABRÜCK IN DER MITTE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR INSTITUTIONENGESCHICHTE DES STÄNDESTAATES IM 17. UND 18. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Reinhard Renger*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 19.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1968. Pp. 156. DM 16.)

RENGER's stated purpose is to describe the roles of the prince and the estates in the Osnabrückian regime as it had evolved to the mid-eighteenth century. In pursuing this purpose the author provides both a concise description of Osnabrück's constitutional history and valuable background for a study of Justus Möser's political theory. As elsewhere, Osnabrück's constitution developed in response to the conflict between sovereign and estates, but in this instance the unique elements of the constitution gave the conflict a special quality. The critical factor was the alternation of Catholic and Protestant rulers established by the Peace of Osnabrück (1648). The implications of this alternating succession differentiated Osnabrück from other ecclesiastical principalities. On the one hand, the role of the prince-bishop was unclear because of the contrasting Catholic and Protestant conception of the office. On the other hand, the lack of dynastic continuity strengthened the role of the estates. Furthermore the varying nature and development of the three estates interacting within the context of the confessional problem finally resulted, in the eighteenth century, in the dominance of the knights. The emergence of a modern administrative state in Osnabrück resulted, therefore, not from the victory of princely centralization over the medieval

feudal estates, but from the transformation of the knights into a legal representative body. In turn Möser, as representative of the knights, did not defend the old political order, but provided a coherent theory to justify and explain the new one. Though stressing Osnabrück's uniqueness, Renger suggests that its institutional history reflects the general character of constitutional and administrative development as described by Hintze and Brunner. Knowledge of Osnabrück's history contributes both to an appreciation of the variety of constitutional experience in the Empire and to an understanding of German constitutionalism generally. This dual function is manifested also by Möser. Renger does not systematically analyze Möser's thought; he merely suggests that intellectual historians have generally failed to recognize the impact of the unique institutional framework in which he functioned.

Renger clearly and concisely fulfills his purpose. He concentrates his attention on the particular character of the Osnabrückian regime, and his remarks on German constitutionalism and Möser's theories are admittedly mere suggestions. But the thoroughness of his review of the primary sources and appropriate secondary materials makes his work a helpful guide for those interested in the more general problems.

Alma College

WILLIAM J. MCGILL

GERMANY 1789-1919: A POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Agatha Ramm*. (London: Methuen, distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. 517. \$13.50.)

THE appearance of a new history of Germany from the fall of the Holy Roman Empire to the fall of the Bismarckian empire is welcome. This important period has too often been treated as only a prelude to the tragedy of the Weimar Republic and the horror of the Third *Reich*. Yet it deserves serious study in its own right. Its dominant theme, the transformation of a provincial and divided people into a world power, still has dramatic interest, while the lesson that the nemesis of irresponsible might is defeat and revolution has relevance for our own experience. It is good, therefore, to read a book that deals intensively with this crucial era in the development of Central Europe. Agatha Ramm brings to her task wide erudition, careful judgment, and infectious enthusiasm. To resist an author who writes with so much zest and vigor is not easy. Still, no book on such a complex subject can please everyone, and this one has not only great virtues but serious weaknesses.

The author is most adept at handling political and diplomatic history, where she feels completely at ease. She embellishes her narrative with detail that is rich, sometimes too rich, and illuminating. Her first chapter on Germany in the late eighteenth century, for example, and the last chapter on the First World War are the most effective. In between there are sections where the reader may occasionally get lost amidst complexities and subtleties, but the scholarship is consistently painstaking and judicious. Perhaps the influence of Namier in the treatment of 1848 is somewhat excessive; perhaps the importance attached to Bismarck's colonial policy is a little exaggerated; perhaps the moderation displayed by the

Wilhelmstrasse in the crisis of 1908-1909 is slightly overstated. No matter. These are questions on which differences of opinion are natural and unavoidable.

The major shortcoming of the book lies in its approach to economic, social, and cultural developments. At a time when the tendency of scholarship is toward integration and synthesis, the author separates and compartmentalizes. The sections on the rise of industrialism are accurate but perfunctory, with the faintly antique flavor of Clapham and Stolper. The chapters dealing with "political thought" and "ideas on state and society" are made up of scholarly sketches of "leading figures" like Herder, Kant, Humboldt, Hegel, Treitschke, Lassalle, and Marx. The attempt to establish the connection between thought and deed is not very successful, for ideas and institutions remain divorced. As for the profound changes that the social structure of Germany underwent as a result of industrialization and urbanization, they are hardly mentioned. In short, we have here a straightforward political and diplomatic account of a sort that is becoming rare. While most scholars are increasingly turning to problems of culture and society, Ramm has given us a refreshingly old-fashioned history written in the tradition of Ward or Dawson. On these pages the thinker, the entrepreneur, and the citizen are never allowed to obscure the politician and the diplomat.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

ÜBER POLITIK UND PHILOSOPHIE: BRIEFE UND LEITARTIKEL, 1862 BIS 1875. By *Friedrich Albert Lange*. Edited and compiled by *Georg Eckert*. [Duisburger Forschungen, Schriftenreihe für Geschichte und Heimatkunde Duisburgs. Herausgegeben vom Stadtarchiv Duisburg in Verbindung mit der Mercator-Gesellschaft, Number 10.] (Duisburg: Walter Braun Verlag; distrib. by Internationalen Schulbuchinstitut, Brunswick. 1968. Pp. 707.)

FRIEDRICH Lange (1828-1875) holds a place in history by virtue of his volumes *The History of Materialism* and *The Social Question*. When in 1862 the Bismarck ministry sought to prevent political activity on the part of officials, Lange resigned as teacher in a Gymnasium, serving during the rest of his life in turn as secretary to a chamber of commerce, as newspaper editor, writer, organizer of workers' associations and cooperatives, as leader in the constitutional conflict in Zurich, as a professor at Zurich and Marburg. Early death closed the career of a man who had the ability to become a political and intellectual leader in the democratic area lying between liberalism and socialism.

The first part of the present carefully edited volume consists of 380 pages and offers letters to and from Lange, with three long and several brief reviews of his two important books. Since only one-fourth of the letters come from Lange, the reader is left primarily with impressions gained from the letters written to Lange by many individuals, including socialists, a newspaper editor, scientists, philosophers, a publisher, politicians, teachers, and students. Most of the correspondents held such minor standing that the editor introduces them with explanatory notes.

Although no rounded conception of any individual, including Lange himself, emerges from these letters, one gains an impression of the range of interests covered by the writers. Philosophy is shown to occupy an essential place in the

thought and action not merely of intellectuals but of the educated public, especially in the widespread search for means to achieve social democracy with freedom and without Marxism. Equally revealing is the prestige that contemporaries attached to newspapers.

The second half of the volume, amounting to three hundred pages, contains the articles that Lange wrote for the popular press from 1862 to 1865. These are political surveys of the main events not only in Prussia and Germany but in other countries throughout the world. Their value is limited by the writer's lack of special sources of information.

The editor of the volume hopes to supplement the present one by reprinting the newspaper, *Boten vom Niederrhein*, founded and edited by Lange in 1865-1866 and by editing a volume concerning Lange's activity in Switzerland; both volumes would be essential for a study of this imaginative, widely active individual's efforts to apply knowledge to social reform.

Santa Barbara, California

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

EUROPA UND DER NORDDEUTSCHE BUND. Edited by *Richard Dietrich*.

(Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1968. Pp. 243. DM 27.50.)

THIS collection of nine essays by eight different authors originated from a series of papers on the significance of the year 1866, presented at a meeting of teachers in Berlin during the summer that marked the centennial of Königgrätz. During preparations for publication some of the original papers had to be dropped and others substituted, so that the focus shifted from the events of 1866 to the chief immediate result of the Austro-Prussian War, the North German Confederation. The title is, nonetheless, misleading. Most of the essays betray their origin by concentrating too largely upon the period that culminated at Königgrätz at the expense of the following years.

As is inevitable in such a volume, the essays vary widely in quality. Although the authors seem to have incorporated most recent German scholarship, they have paid little attention to the works of foreign scholars. The value of the work lies in two essays, each of which repays the price of the book. Wolfgang von Groote's "Königgrätz im Blick der Militärgeschichte" provides a magnificent example of what military history can be and so seldom is. Upon reading it one understands, as never before, the complexities of the contrasting strategies of Moltke and Benedek, and the intellectual and psychological states, as well as the political and material forces that determined their courses of action. "Russland und die Gründung des Norddeutschen Bundes," by Eberhard Kolb, gives a masterly exposition of the development of Russian policy toward Central Europe from 1865 through early 1867. It largely demolishes the conventional picture of a Russia benevolently neutral toward Prussia throughout. Gorchakov, moreover, emerges with a stature much enhanced in comparison with customary treatments. This is the only essay based on original research.

The others present little new information, and the interpretations are largely standard. The chapters by Theodor Schieder, "Das Jahr 1866 in der deutschen und europäischen Geschichte," and Walter Bussmann, "Bismarck, Preussen und

Deutschland," are workmanlike but hardly inspired. Both appeared elsewhere earlier. Similarly Dietrich's two contributions, "Das Jahr 1866 und das 'Dritte Deutschland'" and the title essay, add nothing to our knowledge or understanding. Paul Hartig's "Königgrätz im Urteil französischer Historiker" deals somewhat superficially with the influence of the "*honte de Sadowa*" on French policy between 1866 and 1870, while Rolf-Joachim Sattler's "Italien, Österreich und der Norddeutsche Bund: Die Bedeutung des Jahres 1866 in der italienischen Geschichte" contains no surprises; nor does that of Rolf Bauer, "Österreich, Preussen und Deutschland: Der Weg nach Königgrätz und seine Folgen."

The book is somewhat marred by inadequate editing, and it contains no index.

University of Delaware

GEORGE G. WINDELL

WALTHER RATHENAU TAGEBUCH 1907-1922. Edited and a commentary by *Hartmut Pogge-v. Strandmann*. With a contribution by *James Joll* and a preface by *Fritz Fischer*. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1967. Pp. 319.)

IN 1930, eight years after Walther Rathenau's assassination while German Foreign Minister, a collection of documents from his private papers was printed in a small edition on behalf of his family. During the Third Reich, Rathenau's papers disappeared, as did most of the copies of the 1930 edition of them. One copy of the latter was, however, acquired by the Hamburg *Staatsbibliothek* and provides the basis for this publication.

The title, carried over from the 1930 edition, is something of a misnomer. Only a little more than half of the Rathenau papers included can properly be described as a "diary." The rest consist of memorandums on official or semiofficial conferences and negotiations. For only two years, 1911 and 1912, are there full sets of diary entries. For 1907 and 1908 there are notes taken during two trips to Africa. For 1913 and 1914 only a few sporadic entries are included, after which time Rathenau apparently ceased to keep a daily record altogether.

On the whole, the diary portions of the volume are disappointing. Most of the entries are nothing more than the briefest of notes on Rathenau's activities. They provide a record of the dizzying round of travels, board meetings, conferences, and conversations of a successful, exceptionally well-connected man who moved constantly and effortlessly between the worlds of business, politics, and the arts in prewar Germany. But, unfortunately, there is seldom anything more than a brief, often cryptic, description of the substance of what was discussed or decided. A list of those mentioned constitutes a veritable who's who of Wilhelmine Germany, but most remain only silent names. There are exceptions to this, especially where the most powerful political figures of the day were concerned. By far the most rewarding are the entries in which Rathenau recorded his talks with Wilhelm II, Bülow, and Bethmann Hollweg. In those passages he showed himself to be a potentially talented diarist, able to convey in a few words something of the personality of those involved as well as to capture revealing remarks on their part. Both there and elsewhere in the diary, however, Rathenau displayed, despite the Olympian stance he affected toward the world, an

avid interest in gossip and petty intrigue. Seldom is there any trace of the philosophical or even mystical Rathenau of some of his books.

For historians, the memorandums will probably be the most useful part of the book. Seven are from the war years; the rest are from the postwar period, with only one dating from Rathenau's brief tenure as Foreign Minister. The most significant are those in which he recorded talks with Ludendorff during the war and with Lloyd George and Louis Loucheur in 1921.

The book is well edited and contains informative introductory and explanatory notes, as well as copious references to Rathenau's previously published works, to recent historical literature, and to relevant archival materials. But, despite the efforts of the editor, the volume is at best of marginal importance, even for the study of Rathenau himself. A measure of this is the inclusion, without significant alterations, of a German translation of James Joll's perceptive biographical sketch of Rathenau, which was first published in 1960 and was written without access to the "diary" or the memorandums published here.

Yale University

HENRY A. TURNER, JR.

DEUTSCHLANDS ROLLE IN DER VORGESCHICHTE DER BEIDEN WELTKRIEGE. By *Andreas Hillgruber*. [Die deutsche Frage in der Welt, Number 7.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 137. DM 9.80.)

THE question of Germany's war guilt in the twentieth century has received renewed attention since the publication of *Griff nach der Weltmacht*. Attacking the view that there was no connection between German policy in 1914 and 1939, Fritz Fischer sees a continuity of unrealistic attempts to make Germany a world power. Hillgruber prefers yet another alternative: German basic war aims changed in the direction of Hitler's during the First World War, but lacked his unique stamp.

Lack of unity in policy making and exaggeration of Russian might were, in Hillgruber's view, two conspicuous features of Wilhelmine Germany. In 1914, believing that Germany's position could only be strengthened by "bluff"—a calculated risk of war—Bethmann spurred on Austria-Hungary. He hoped only to weaken Russia in the Balkans, but this aim, as he knew, ran directly counter to Moltke's strategic planning. It consciously extended war to France and Britain. By mid-July, Bethmann saw only two alternatives: capitulation to Russia or war. Germany went to war unnecessarily, without expansionist goals.

By 1918, however, Ludendorff postulated an autarkic state making far-reaching territorial gains with a view of preparing for a future war. The concomitant occupation of Russia and underestimation of Bolshevik strength laid the groundwork for Hitler's later thinking.

Hitler's aims differed in kind, argues Hillgruber, from those of 1918; he introduced more radical elements. German autarky was to extend much beyond Mitteleuropa. First, Germany would become a continental empire with its base in European Russia. Then Germany would achieve world parity with Japan, Britain, and the United States. In the remote future, there would be a showdown between America and Germany. The most irrational element was the adoption of

virulent anti-Semitism; the Jews, with whom Hitler equated the Bolsheviks, were to be eradicated.

To note only questions stimulated by Hillgruber's persuasive analysis, there was perhaps more continuity than is suggested. Did not both William II and Hitler believe that Great Britain could be reconciled to German continental domination? Is the similarity of method between Bethmann Hollweg's policy of "bluff" and Hitler's "bold risk" only superficial? Was not the entrance of America into the war in 1917 as much a sign of the bankruptcy of German leadership as Hitler's declaration of war in 1941? Finally, did not Ludendorff's 1918 campaigns border perilously close on Hitler's "world power or collapse"?

Duke University

FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

KOALITION UND OPPOSITION IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK, 1924-1928. By *Michael Stürmer*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 36.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1967. Pp. 319.)

Mr. Stürmer, a pupil of Erich Matthias, an authority on Germany party history, has undertaken an intriguing project. He has investigated the formation and operation of the German coalition cabinets in the most stable period of the Weimar Republic, from 1924 to 1928. His study is based on intensive research, especially in the records of the *Reichskanzlei* and in the Stresemann, Westarp, and Pünder papers.

After introductory observations on the history of the German parties since 1871, Stürmer describes and analyzes, step by step, what happened to the several cabinets formed by Dr. Wilhelm Marx and Dr. Hans Luther. While the author has a good command of the facts, he does less than full justice to these two able men. Luther was a domineering authoritarian *Oberbürgermeister* of the Adenauer type, but he was not "ausgesprochen bürokratisch geprägt." Marx was an astute, fair-minded, and personally very modest leader of coalition governments. He enjoyed the high esteem of his cabinet colleagues, especially of Gustav Stresemann, whose key role behind the scenes Stürmer again does not always sufficiently emphasize. The book culminates in reflections on the unfinished and imperfect parliamentary system that emerged after the disasters of 1923. Stürmer's results may not be sensational, but he has some valid points that deserve underscoring. The problems of forming and maintaining viable coalitions were greatly complicated, as he shows, by the often adamant attitudes of the spokesmen for the vested class interests. Stresemann complained with growing despair about the militancy of the industry representatives in his *Reichstagsfraktion*. The German Nationalists were under even more uninhibited pressure from the *Reichslandbund*. The Social Democrats often could not escape the demands of unbending trade-union leaders. The *Zentrum*, finally, had to listen to the advice of the Catholic hierarchy on some crucial issues, while it usually managed to balance somehow the demands of various social and economic pressure groups. The coalition system was, nevertheless, working in those years, and the results were far better than some hostile critics will admit. Only after Stresemann's death and the beginning of the depression did the system show serious signs of decay. The parliamentary forces were eventually supplanted in the Brüning era by the authority of the popularly elected President von Hindenburg, who listened

increasingly to the camarilla of his unofficial reactionary advisers and finally turned over the reins of government to Adolf Hitler.

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918-1945, AUS DEM ARCHIV DES AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS. Series B, 1925-1933. Volume II, DEUTSCHLANDS BEZIEHUNGEN ZUR SOWJET-UNION, ZU POLEN, DANZIG UND DEN BALTISCHEN STAATEN. Part 1, DEZEMBER 1925 BIS JUNI 1926. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. xlviii, 543.)

THIS is the second volume of "Series B" of the German Foreign Office documents to be published under the new four-nation editorial arrangements (see the review of Volume I, Part 1, in *AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 523). The first volume examined German relations with Western Europe during the half year after the signing of Locarno; here is the other side of the coin: the problems of diplomacy with Russia, Poland, and the Baltic States during roughly the same period.

The heart of the volume—112 out of 220 carefully chosen and meticulously edited documents from December 3, 1925, to June 5, 1926—concerns the negotiation of the Treaty of Berlin and the excitement caused by its publication. To be sure, it is like coming in at the middle of a movie, for, while the story actually opens with Chicherin's return to Berlin from his trip to Paris in December 1925, the latecomer can quickly pick up the threads of negotiations already under way for more than a year.

There are three primary actors. Chicherin feared that Germany was falling into the Western orbit and negotiated valiantly for a treaty, rather than a protocol, to ensure the neutrality of one party in the event of a war involving the other. Brockdorff-Rantzau considered himself more adept in Russian relations than Stresemann and had to be brought to heel in December after he tried an appeal to Hindenburg. Stresemann succeeded in maintaining the tradition of Rapallo without weakening gains with England and France. Also important to the story was the Polish problem: Stresemann was disturbed by Russia's play for a guarantee of Poland, which was largely an attempt by Chicherin to gain leverage against Germany; on the other hand, Stresemann felt that the Polish financial troubles provided a real opportunity for German pressure on the western frontier of Poland.

Virtually all of the documents have been available in the microfilmed archives, and considerable work has already been done in them: Kurt Rosenbaum's *Community of Fate* (1965), in particular, as well as the briefer examinations of the Treaty of Berlin by Gerald Freund and Harvey Leonard Dyck. This by no means negates the value of the published series. It is a careful and abundant selection for the student who is not in a position to wade through the microfilms; the volumes can, moreover, be acquired relatively easily by any college or university library. Even now, with only two volumes published, "Series B" offers much of profit for all students of European diplomacy in the 1920's.

Georgetown University

THOMAS T. HELDE

- DIE SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITERPARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (SAPD): EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN ARBEITERBEWEGUNG AM ENDE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Hanno Drechsler*. [Marburger Abhandlungen zur Politischen Wissenschaft, Number 2.] (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain. 1965. Pp. xv, 406. DM 35.)
- DIE NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE LINKE, 1925-1930. By *Reinhard Kühnl*. [Marburger Abhandlungen zur Politischen Wissenschaft, Number 6.] (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain. 1966. Pp. 378. DM 31.20.)

POLITICAL sectarianism and dissent against the establishment are not new phenomena of the 1960's. These two volumes testify to the historic repetition of the emergence of factions within political party systems. In the multiparty configuration of Weimar Germany each party addressed itself to a narrow clientele, and yet serious ideological and tactical differences still emerged to mar internal unity.

These volumes were issued under the auspices of Professor Wolfgang Abendroth of the University of Marburg, who must be credited with launching many valuable scholarly inquiries into hitherto untapped areas of politics, especially those of German parties. The books are revised doctoral dissertations and reflect their virtues and vices. The authors, Drechsler and Kühnl, have diligently unearthed a veritable mine of information through interviews and widely scattered collections of party journals and documents about the two political movements, but have been remiss in putting the data into a theoretical framework. There are many insights and explanations, but concluding chapters that might have addressed themselves to broader questions of theory and concepts are lacking. The books nevertheless represent an important contribution to a continuing and necessary inquiry as to the failure of the Weimar Republic and the birth of the National Socialist movement.

Drechsler has investigated the Socialist Workers party of Germany (SAPD), a radical Marxist group that split off from the Social Democratic party (SPD) in 1931 and maintained a precarious existence until 1933. The SAPD could not countenance the "conservative" policies of the SPD and attempted to rally the workers to its ranks. But it failed to obtain mass support and was rent by ideological splits among its pacifist, Trotskyite, Communist dissident, and independent socialist factions. The author ably traces the feuds among these factions, the discussions revolving around programs and goals, and the sharp criticisms from the SPD and the Communist party (KPD). Indeed, the SAPD attempted in 1933 to bridge the gulf between the SPD and the KPD, but it was too late and the gulf was too wide. To the credit of SAPD, the party realized the danger of National Socialism at an earlier stage than SPD and KPD, but with small membership and voter support its political leverage was close to zero.

Kühnl has studied the history, structure, and ideology of the National Socialist Left movement as represented by the Strasser group in northern Germany. For the period from 1925 to 1930, the two brothers Gregor and Otto Strasser were instrumental in preventing Hitler from leading a cohesive united party from his southern bastion of Munich. The Strasser brothers received the support of disparate, dissatisfied elements in the postwar society, such as nationalist lower rank officers, students, and the *petite bourgeoisie*, all of whom were re-

ceptive to a strange brand of non-Marxist, anticapitalist ideology as proclaimed in the powerful Strasser press. When Hitler sought financial support from the ranks of big business, was willing to back them in strikes, and was ready to participate in bourgeois state governments, Strasser was opposed. The non-political masses streaming into the movement with the advent of the depression failed to rally to Strasser, however, and Hitler easily ousted the group in 1930, thus ending a potentially damaging threat to his own power.

There are strong parallels between the SAPD and the National Socialist Left radical movements that ultimately failed to receive mass support. It is now a moot question, yet nonetheless one worthy of speculation, whether the course of history would have been different if either of them had gained its objectives.

University of Massachusetts

GERARD BRAUNTHAL

HEINRICH BRÜNING: REDEN UND AUFSÄTZE EINES DEUTSCHEN STAATSMANNS. Edited by *Wilhelm Verneköhl* with the collaboration of *Rudolf Morsey*. (Münster: Verlag Regensberg. 1968. Pp. 358. DM 19.80.)

THIS is obviously a labor of love intended to pay tribute to a man who even now, living quietly in his self-chosen New England exile, must seem like a very remote historical figure to most Germans. One wonders, though, whether this collection of speeches, an essay, and various biographical materials actually fulfills the hopes of its editors.

One of Brüning's weaknesses as *Reich* Chancellor was his inability to capture the imagination of his audiences and explain in meaningful terms his policies and ultimate goals. The speeches reprinted here testify to Brüning's limitations as a speaker. They are colorless, factual expositions of the problems he faced, and they sounded probably little more interesting when first presented than they read now, almost forty years later. If this does not wholly apply to the two *Reichstag* addresses included in the book, it is because, along with Brüning's text, the editors have reprinted the malicious and provocative heckling. (Historically, these two items are the most valuable because they re-create, with the inclusion of these almost continuous interjections, something of the corrosive atmosphere of those years.)

Postwar materials include two major speeches. One was made at Chicago in 1946 on the attributes of true statesmanship and consists of some rather platitudinous general observations and various personal reminiscences. The other is an address on "The United States and Europe," delivered in Düsseldorf in 1954, in which Brüning called for a German foreign policy less exclusively oriented toward the West. The speech was badly received by the Adenauer regime, and the resulting contretemps caused Brüning to move back to the United States. The editors also reprint Brüning's letter to the editor of the *Deutsche Rundschau* of July 1947, the only major statement on Brüning's chancellorship yet to appear from his pen.

There follow some biographical data and memorandums on Brüning as a high school and university student, frontline officer in World War I, and *Reich* Chancellor in which a future biographer may find an occasional nugget but which on the whole make rather dull reading. Annotations are provided for

the benefit of the reader, but some are oddly unhelpful: Ulbricht, Goebbels, and Himmler, for example, are identified only as deputies of the *Reichstag*.

Eventually Brüning's biography will be written, and one hopes that it will do justice to him. This book cannot, based, as it is, on materials that do not lend themselves to this task.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

WALTER FRANK UND SEIN REICHSINSTITUT FÜR GESCHICHTE DES NEUEN DEUTSCHLANDS. By *Helmut Heiber*. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 13.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1966. Pp. 1273.)

WHILE it is monumental, this work presents a minute history of Walter Frank and his attempts to dominate the German historical profession and to impose a Nazi pattern on German historical writings after 1933. It is not a history of the German historical profession, which would require a study of wider scope. There were genuine Nazis and history professors who tried to conform to Nazi ideas, and there were also historians who valiantly strove to maintain their integrity outside the circle with which Heiber deals. But there is no question that Heiber's work introduces the reader in paradigmatic fashion to the Nazi control of historical scholarship and the reaction of the German academicians. Although the official papers of Frank's institute were burned in 1945, Heiber has succeeded in assembling a wealth of sources from which he quotes amply. But while the research is excellent, the author's organization is rather deplorable. The subject is not historically important enough to be treated on more than 1,250 closely printed pages. Very few people are likely to read the whole volume, and those who will wish to use it for reference purposes will find themselves handicapped by the absence of any subdivisions and subheadings in its four massive chapters. On the other side, Heiber writes well. He has a good sense for the pointed phrase and for polished sarcasm and irony. The fact that some of the people about whom he has written critically are still alive and that others have left students behind who are now in influential academic positions apparently persuaded Heiber to take up every detail, document it profusely, and thus neglect any consideration of the length of his narrative.

Heiber's study again confirms the chaotic conditions of Nazi totalitarianism. Rosenberg as chief interpreter of Nazi *Weltanschauung*, Rust as Minister of Education, Goebbels as Minister of Propaganda, but also the Ministry of the Interior, the party chancellery, and, last but not least, the SS, claimed a directing influence on Nazi historiography. The bitter feuding between Hitler's lieutenants and their supporters became Frank's undoing once he lost his chief protector, Rudolf Hess, in 1941. Frank was not untypical of many intellectuals who gained a greater or lesser prominence under National Socialism. He was a gifted historian, but his judgment was imperiled from the beginning by his unbridled nationalism. At the same time he had serious personality problems. In personal contacts with people of different outlook he was shy and awkward. He worried about becoming an academic teacher and suspected that many people were blocking his career. Before 1933 he never openly admitted his commitment to

National Socialism. On the other side, he was vindictive, ambitious, and megalomaniacal. He saw in himself the man destined to create a truly German historiography that would make a direct contribution to the building of Hitler's *Reich*.

In the Third Empire Frank, then thirty years old, succeeded, in 1935, in having himself appointed president of a *Reichsinstitut* for modern history that superseded a commission founded in 1928 largely on the instigation of Friedrich Meinecke. Frank's institute was to produce the model works of future German historiography. Actually Frank proved a poor organizer and administrator, and the production of the institute never lived up to the original pompous announcements. It is sad to see how some of Germany's most eminent historians—Erich Marcks, Fritz Hartung, Srbik, and others—in spite of their strong reservations with regard to Frank, agreed to collaborate with him. The flattery that he received from young historians in need of fellowships is more understandable. Frank, however, disturbed the profession more profoundly by his open or behind-the-scenes denunciations of leading members of the profession than by the activities of the institute. In late 1941 Frank himself fell victim to Rosenberg's vendetta. Heiber's work is highly revealing concerning the erratic nature of the operations of totalitarianism in the field of education.

Yale University

HAJO HOLBORN

NEUORDNUNG IM WIDERSTAND: DER KREISAUER KREIS INNERHALB DER DEUTSCHEN WIDERSTANDSBEWEGUNG. By *Ger van Roon*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1967. Pp. xi, 652. DM 52.)

LEGENDS in history are born of the faraway past as well as of the near-by present. Among the various fields of contemporary history, the story of the German resistance movement against Hitler has from the very beginning been closely interwoven with myth and mythmaking. Hitler's instant reaction to the attempt on his life of July 20, 1944—the statement that it was caused by a “small clique” of ambitious officers—has been variously taken up by liberal as well as Communist historians who have objected to the predominantly conservative and upper-class character of the conspiracy. Other historians in turn, partly in reaction against this lack of sympathy and in order to demonstrate the existence of the “other Germany” even during Germany's darkest years, have not infrequently succumbed to the temptation of hagiography.

Ger van Roon in his volume on the Kreisau circle, originally a doctoral thesis written for the Free University of Amsterdam, has set out to cut through the web of legend concerning his particular subject. He has unearthed an impressive amount of material, including the papers of Count Moltke, and has interviewed and corresponded with many people close to the circle. He has succeeded in producing a work of striking scholarly detachment.

Of great interest is the chapter on the spiritual roots of the Kreisau circle, including the Youth Movement, the personality and work of Professor Rosenstock-Huessy, religious socialism, young socialism, and the reforming tendencies among German Catholicism. The *noblesse oblige* ethos of the circle, we are reminded, was defined by commoners as well as aristocrats, socialists as well as conservatives, Catholics as well as Protestants. There was much theorizing and

daydreaming among the members of the group, but the record of its contacts and activities assigns to it a weightier role than has previously been accepted in the conspiracy against Hitler. Even though Moltke himself was opposed on religious and ethical grounds to an attempt on Hitler's life and argued that by itself it could not eradicate the basic evil, most of the Kreisau members, in particular after Moltke's imprisonment, moved closer to Stauffenberg. They knowingly became part of the conspiracy. And while Van Roon, as has been recently pointed out by Eugen Gerstenmaier, is excessively cautious on this subject, he has made it a matter of record that the Kreisau circle was part of the "active" resistance against Hitler.

Van Roon's thesis, implicit in the somewhat ambiguous title of the book, that the Kreisau circle represented a new departure (*Neuordnung*) is only partly borne out. No doubt Carl Goerdeler and his group were committed to a world that, politically and economically, was, by comparison, "reactionary." But Moltke in turn, in searching for ways of reviving the "small communities" in an age of mass democracy, was not free of the very bias against modernity that has so unfortunately affected the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany. Van Roon might have acknowledged this fact. In striking contrast to Goerdeler is the Kreisau circle's, and not merely its socialist members', commitment to the socialization of heavy industries.

Most weighty, however, in the allover assessment of the Kreisau circle is that, in the midst of Germany's madness, there were people who, overcoming differences of class and religion and in a spirit of Christian humanism, called for "the end of power politics, the end of nationalism, the end of the race idea, the end of the power of the state over the individual." Much traditional German political thinking had to be discarded in order to arrive at this position. Moreover, the men of Kreisau knowingly aimed at the defeat of their own country as a necessary condition for the realization of their aims.

Van Roon's book, in spite of the minor interpretive weaknesses indicated above, will henceforth take an important place in the scholarly literature; it brings us far toward the destruction of the web of legends surrounding the German resistance.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

FELDMARSCHALL DAUN: MARIA THERESIAS GRÖSSTER FELDHERR. By *Franz-Lorenz von Thadden*. (Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1967. Pp. 519.)

THE Laudongasse in Vienna is considerably longer than the Daungasse. The goal of Von Thadden, a distant relative of the NDP *Führer*, is to overturn the customary judgment—thus symbolized—about the relative worth of the great Empress' two outstanding generals and to show that Daun deserves a higher measure of honor than his competitor. Another aim is to give *Reich* Germans a fairer picture of eighteenth-century Austrian military accomplishments, generally denigrated by Prussian-oriented historiography. (The belief that Austrian soldiers are incorrigible *Schlappschwänze*, exacerbated by certain events in the two world wars of the present century, is still very prevalent in West Germany.) The

author fails to achieve his first purpose although he buttresses the long-held opinion that Daun, despite his sometimes excessive caution, which is conceded even by Von Thadden, was a quite competent general. The second, very laudable, objective is more nearly realized.

It is unfortunate that the book, its use of unimpeachable archival sources notwithstanding, is not well written. The style is somewhat precious; the tone with respect to aristocracy is too deferential. One misses the hand of a determined editor who would certainly have insisted on expunging such extraneous material as gossip details of court routine and would have demanded more condensation or paraphrasing of documents instead of long, literal transcriptions. In short, the volume suffers from insufficient assimilation and is much longer than necessary. Especially to be regretted is the verbiage that accompanies and spoils the treatment of such critical battles as the horribly bloody encounter at Kolín. The lack of maps is also unfortunate when there is so much talk of movements. The value of the study lies mainly in making essential primary references available to anyone who may wish to undertake further work on the military aspects, especially the reform activity, of the Theresan era.

State University of New York, Albany

THOMAS M. BARKER

JOHANNES VON MÜLLERS BEGEGNUNG MIT ENGLAND: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ANGLOPHILIE IM SPÄTEN 18. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Thomas Grütter*. [Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 109.] (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1967. Pp. xi, 232. 22 fr. S.)

MÜLLER never saw England; nor did he ever write a history of England. Yet, during his lifetime, he became Switzerland's foremost Anglophile. How and why this happened is the topic of Grütter's careful, well-documented monograph, which is divided into three parts: Müller's contact with Englishmen in Switzerland, his lifelong interest in English history and culture, and the image and influence of England as expressed in his own histories and correspondence. These writings, of course, and Müller's place in the intellectual life of eighteenth-century Europe make this work worthwhile.

Grütter attributes Müller's favorable disposition toward England to two interacting factors: a favorable environment and his personal receptivity to it. Involved in the first were Müller's student years in Schaffhausen and Göttingen, his sojourns in Geneva and Zurich, "outposts of the English spirit on the Continent," and his firm friendships with Francis Kinloch and other English and American visitors to Switzerland. Then there was his own moral and intellectual temperament: the high value he placed on friendship, freedom, equality of rights, and a proper appreciation of nature and antiquity, all of which he thought were best exemplified by England. As time passed, Müller came to see England increasingly as "the last refuge of freedom" in a Europe gradually relapsing into a "night-time of tyranny."

But what about these nebulous, complex matters of "influence" in history and the formation of phobias and philias to other humans? The author does not deal with them directly here, and maybe it is unfair to criticize him for not doing so.

But surely, as the subtitle suggests, the question is relevant. It has to do with whether and how history can say anything of value about the formation and effect of attitudes both within and on other national, ethnic, and racial groups, a problem that looms so large and constitutes so fruitful an area of study, especially in the modern world. The question arises, in my mind at least, as to the validity of explaining them in such terms as environment, exposure, receptivity—terms, after all, more descriptive than explanatory. Even Toynbee had recourse to Jungian psychology and other metahistorical devices from time to time to underpin his method of “challenge and response.” Grütter’s book will be useful to those interested mainly in the subject matter; others, more philosophically inclined, may find it wanting.

University of Southern California

ROBERT ANCHOR

LAWYERS AND STATECRAFT IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE. By
Lauro Martines. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii,
531. \$15.00.)

As in his earlier brilliant analysis of *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390–1460*, Lauro Martines here concentrates attention upon one distinctive group of citizens. He keeps his eye firmly fixed throughout on the activity of those lawyers who are his protagonists; doctors of civil or canon law or both, as distinct from the more numerous class of notaries. The opening chapters furnish a much-needed description of the legal profession—social background, education, types of cases and fees—and the appendix presents brief biographical sketches of nearly two hundred lawyers active in Florence during the century and a half from the revival of oligarchical rule in 1380 to the final collapse of the republic. Most of the book, however, ranges over a wide area of governmental, judicial, legislative, administrative, and diplomatic activity in which the lawyers played an influential or decisive role. It is clear, indeed, that his interest is not primarily in the lawyers for their own sake. “My concern [he writes] has been to understand the nature and exercise of political power in Renaissance Florence. But so comprehensive an interest requires a focus. This was the value of putting the lawyers at the center of things.”

This unusual approach is justified by the fact that the Florentine governmental system, with its innumerable executive commissions and legislative bodies, all elected for short terms and with overlapping jurisdictions, simply could not have functioned without frequent recourse to expert legal opinion. But, in addition, more than half of the lawyers practicing in Florence, and a much larger proportion of the most successful among them, were by right of birth members of that relatively small number of citizens qualified to hold office. They would have been politically active in any case, but because of their expert knowledge they were more likely than others to be elected to the highest offices or to be called upon to express opinion in the consultative *Pratiche*.

This is essentially a study of the Florentine government at work. And, given the character of the Florentine state, it is also a study of oligarchy and how it functioned. The opinions of lawyers, many of whose names become familiar, are constantly cited, but usually in relation to immediate problems. Only in the brief

final chapters does Martines turn to such theoretical questions as the basis of sovereignty, the identification of the state with the public good, and, in general, the evolving nature of the Renaissance state.

This is an important book, based to a large extent on the author's extensive acquaintance with unpublished material in the Florentine archives. The style is clear and refreshingly free from jargon.

University of Western Ontario

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

CATERINA SFORZA: A RENAISSANCE VIRAGO. By *Ernst Breisach*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 375. \$7.95.)

IF Caterina Sforza had not existed, she would have had to be invented to feed our appetite for stories of tough, sensual Renaissance women who mirror their age. Born in 1462 to the mistress of a future duke of Milan, she was married at fourteen to Girolamo Riario who, by the grace of his uncle, Pope Sixtus IV, became Lord of Imola and Forlì. When Girolamo was murdered, Caterina showed her mettle by grasping the reins of power and fighting to hold on against all comers—domestic conspirators, French invaders, Venice, and the Borgias. Cesare Borgia conquered her at last, but only after she had put up a fierce struggle. Cesare, they said, took his revenge upon her helpless body, then locked her in a dungeon from which she emerged with nothing left her but memories of old glories and schemes for new. When these failed, she took refuge in Florence and there, occupied with her youngest son's education, lived quietly until her death at the age of forty-six.

Caterina was brave, loyal, shrewd, arrogant, ruthless, and superstitious. She was avid for potions to keep her face and body young for a steady stream of handsome lovers. But Caterina was unlucky in love. Her first marriage was stormy and ended with her husband's murder; her second, to Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, was happy, but illness carried him off after a year; her lovers too had a way of dying young, usually murdered by resentful subjects. Caterina was a doting mother, ambitious for her sons, the youngest of whom won glory equal to her own as a Florentine military captain. He is known as Giovanni dalle Bande Nere.

As political biography this book seems curiously old-fashioned next to the books historians of the Renaissance have been producing in recent years. Professor Breisach too often seeks to achieve through stylistic devices what he ought better to have left to the drama of the story itself in the notion that this will increase its appeal to "the educated nonspecialist." ("The world had made its curtsy. Soon it would stand erect and look Caterina straight in the face with eyes that revealed more than tribute to her glory.") He uses "Renaissance" as though it were a Platonic idea, the ultimate reality. Thus Sixtus IV's behavior is explained by his having become a "Renaissance" prince; politics are always "Renaissance" politics, and so forth. Nevertheless, this is a well-documented study and a competent guide through the labyrinth of *quattrocento* diplomacy. It is also the first original biography of Caterina Sforza in English and a handsomely produced book.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

DONALD WEINSTEIN

THE LIFE OF FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. By *Roberto Ridolfi*. Translated from the Italian by *Cecil Grayson*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. ix, 336, vi. \$10.00.)

To my amazement I discovered that the original Italian edition of this book, which appeared in 1960, has never been reviewed in the *American Historical Review*. It is a frightening indication of the narrowing of our intellectual horizons that an important work by Roberto Ridolfi—this formidable figure who through his biographies has gained an eminent place in the world of Italian scholarship and literature—remained for eight years without critical evaluation in the leading historical periodical of the United States.

In Ridolfi's trilogy of Renaissance biographies, *The Life of Francesco Guicciardini* stands out as the best. Ridolfi's *Savonarola* is somewhat distorted by the author's advocacy of Savonarola's saintliness, and his *Life of Machiavelli* is too full of sentimental complaints about the hard life poor Niccolò had to lead. Ridolfi confesses that he "never managed to like Guicciardini"; the result is a work of admirable distance and objectivity.

There are some further reasons why, in his Guicciardini biography, Ridolfi leads from strength: he has an unequaled knowledge of the contents of Florentine private archives; he was a close friend of the late Conte Paolo Guicciardini; and, with Ridolfi's encouragement and assistance, Conte Paolo reorganized the Guicciardini family archives and opened them to scholarly investigators. Ridolfi has worked in the material of the Guicciardini archives for many decades. His important reconstruction of Guicciardini's procedure in writing the *History of Italy* was published in 1939, and in 1945 he edited a previously unknown historical manuscript by Guicciardini, the *Cose Fiorentine*. Briefly, this biography represents the summing up of much work that Ridolfi has done in the past.

Moreover, the one weakness—and it is a very serious deficiency—that can be found in Ridolfi's biographies is less noticeable in the *Guicciardini* than in the *Savonarola* or the *Machiavelli*. Ridolfi has no interest in problems of intellectual history; nor does he understand them. When he discusses literary works he becomes a philologist who establishes stages in the development of a text, but he provides no analyses or interpretations. A biography of Savonarola that does not investigate the relation of Savonarola's thought to the religious trends of his time lacks depth. A Machiavelli biography of four hundred pages in which the *Prince* and the *Discorsi* are discussed in one brief chapter of fourteen pages may answer many questions but not the crucial ones. Certainly, Guicciardini too is interesting to us chiefly as a historian and as a thinker, as a figure of Italian intellectual life, and on these issues Ridolfi's biography is unsatisfactory. But Guicciardini's life as a diplomat, a papal administrator, an adviser on foreign policy, and a Florentine politician was so full that, even without an evaluation of Guicciardini's intellectual achievements, an interesting and important story remains.

The figures who are presented in Ridolfi's great biographies were men of the Renaissance. But, because of Ridolfi's lack of interest in intellectual history, his works cannot be considered as a contribution to the problems of Renaissance history. Ridolfi writes on the history of his own city, about Florence. This again gives Ridolfi's biography of Guicciardini some advantage over those of Savonarola and Machiavelli. For, while the Florentine perspective somewhat diminishes the

stature of Savonarola and Machiavelli, it is appropriate to Guicciardini who was and wanted to be foremost a Florentine patrician. And one gets the impression that the Marchese Ridolfi thinks that the Florentine aristocrat of the present should have no difficulties in intuitively understanding a Florentine aristocrat of the past.

The result is a remarkable book. The story of Guicciardini's life is told with a wealth of detail and with admirable accuracy. At the same time, however, the book has somewhat the flavor of a dialogue between two members of the same society.

The book oscillates between narrative description, critical investigation, and moral evaluation, changes reflected in a style of great flexibility and with many nuances. Only praise is possible for Cecil Grayson's translation of Ridolfi's scintillating prose into English; the English text runs smoothly along, although all the shadings of the original are there.

At the end it must be said, however, that there is little justification for the claim made in the introduction that the original Italian edition of 1960 has been "revised and brought up-to-date." As far as I can see, there are no changes in the text. Only a few (precisely 10 of 907) footnotes have been added or changed. The fact that these additions to the notes have not resulted in a change of the text shows how insignificant they are; the bibliographical additions do not add up to a complete listing of the relevant literature published since 1960. This is an excellent translation of an important book, but, for scholarly purposes, the original Italian edition of 1960 has not become obsolete.

Institute for Advanced Study

FELIX GILBERT

I VICERÈ SPAGNOLI DI NAPOLI. By *Giuseppe Coniglio*. [Collana di Cultura Napoletana, Number 16.] (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino Editore. [1967.] Pp. 396.)

GIUSEPPE Coniglio has already published two studies of the Spanish viceroyalty in Naples, one covering the years of Charles V (1951), and the other the seventeenth century (1955). Both concentrated especially on financial administration and economic conditions and were important contributions, being based on considerable original research in Spanish as well as various Italian archives. The volume reviewed here, on the other hand, is another matter. It is nothing more than a series of sketches of the almost fifty viceroys who managed the affairs of Naples from 1503 to 1707. It is difficult to know why such a task was undertaken at all, except perhaps to bring the eighteenth-century *Teatro eroico* of Parrino up to date, but whereas Parrino at least had a major theme to pursue, this book has no conceptual scheme whatsoever. The sketches are utterly unconnected, and the whole is totally lacking in analysis. There is not even an introduction. Admittedly, the biographical approach has its limitations, but, having undertaken the task, Coniglio fails to take advantage of it to discuss such things as, for example, the complex interplay between personalities and institutions, or the importance of patronage for the history of the arts in Naples. Even within each sketch the author has made only a feeble effort to organize his material, and for the most part it comes out completely undigested. In those areas where he him-

self has done research, especially in fiscal matters, the information is abundant; in other areas he has done little more than assemble much diverse and sometimes trivial information, and too frequently it is thrown together in an extremely haphazard manner. For example, in the sketch on the famous Don Pietro di Toledo we start out in one paragraph reading about the marriage of the viceroy's daughter, then the subject suddenly shifts to earthquakes, and by the time we arrive at the end of the same paragraph two pages later we are being told about the problem of the Jews in Naples!

In short, this is a rather senseless book; one would have hoped for something more from a scholar who probably knows as much about the subject as anyone does.

Johns Hopkins University

RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE

LA POPOLAZIONE CALABRESE NEL SECOLO XIX: DEMOGRAFIA ED ECONOMIA. By *Luigi Izzo*. [Banco di Napoli, Biblioteca di storia economica, Volume II.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1965. Pp. vi, 363.)

In his scholarly and well-documented book, Dr. Izzo provides statistical evidence of the conditions in which about one million inhabitants of the Italian peninsula's southernmost region lived in the nineteenth century. The author does not touch on Calabria's varied scenic beauty or the glories of the far-off past. His concern is a study on the backwardness of an area that still is Italy's "Deep South" and that has only in the last few years slowly begun to share in the nation's recent dynamism.

Two hundred pages of text are solidly backed by copious statistical documentation, partly summarized in the text itself and given in detail in the appendixes. The historian's interest is likely to be focused mainly on the first of the book's three chapters. It contains a description of the socioeconomic environment of Calabria based on a survey ordered in 1811 by King Joachim Murat, on approximate censuses taken under the rule of the restored Bourbons, and on more accurate censuses and surveys undertaken after Italy's unification. The chapter deals with some of the region's major problems: the scarcity of manufacturing and the paucity of trade, the concentration of most agricultural wealth in a few hands and the infinitesimal fragmentation of the rest, the widespread malaria, the high level of illiteracy, the migratory movement that sent one hundred thousand Calabrese to the Argentine and nearly as many to the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The second chapter deals with the structure of the population at various periods during the nineteenth century, the third with the population's movement. Not long ago the people of Calabria were no better off than much of the population of the underdeveloped half of mankind. Things are changing now, and Izzo's book gives an idea of the problems that change faces in a stagnant, traditional society.

Smith College

M. SALVADORI

QUELQUES SOUVENIRS DE MA VIE. By *Luigi Pelloux*. Edited and with an introduction by *Gastone Manacorda*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series H: Fonti, Volume LVI.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. xcix, 351.)

Who was Pelloux? An Italian general who, as many others of his exalted rank, lived long and died in bed at the venerable age of eighty-five. Luigi Pelloux's life (1839-1924) spanned the vast arc of Italian history from the pre-Cavourian *Risorgimento* to the triumph of the Fascist dictatorship. It was Pelloux who, as a young artillery officer of the Piedmontese invasion forces, successfully breached Porta Pia on September 20, 1870, and initiated the Italian era of the Eternal City. The use of French in his *Souvenirs* should surprise no one who has the least acquaintance with the cultural and linguistic origins of the Savoyard military and political classes that helped create the Italian unitary state. Written in 1911, these memoirs testify, among other things, to the persistence of psychological attitudes and educational habits even through long and drastic social-institutional changes.

A career officer of the old Piedmontese Army, Pelloux entered politics in 1876 after the fall of the Cavourian Right and therefore as a technical-military expert within the new transformistic Left headed first by Agostino Depretis and later by Giovanni Giolitti. During the first twenty years of his political career Pelloux's congenital hatred of Socialism was apparently not yet strong enough to balance his anticolonialist sentiments. Thus, during that period, he remained a bitter critic and staunch opponent of the man who should have been his real hero—Francesco Crispi. Pelloux rose rather quickly through ministerial ranks, and, throughout the 1890's, he headed the Ministry of War in the governments of Rudini, Giolitti, and, after Crispi's downfall in 1896, Rudini again. Toward what appeared to be the closing phase of the long, dreadful national crisis that encompassed the *Fasci Siciliani* at the start (1893-1894), the defeat at Adowa in the middle (1896), and then the furious May Days of 1898, Pelloux loomed as a potential restorer of civil peace, a paladin of "sound" social law and order in strife-torn Italy. Irremovably poised as he was upon a conservative-patriotic political "center," he let his military-bureaucratic view of social problems range from moderate Left to reactionary Right with equal ease and equal frustration. Thus, during his first ministry (May 1898-June 1899), he headed a nominal Left-Center government apparently sponsored by the Liberal Giolitti and then, during his second ministry (1899-June 1900), he led a restricted Right-Center coalition whose real mentor and guide was the ultra-Conservative Sidney Sonnino. Caught between Giolitti and Sonnino in the murky post-Crispian atmosphere of political ferment and parliamentary dissent, Pelloux's long liaison with moderate conservatism brought forth only its own quintessential constituent—reactionary statalism.

In his *Souvenirs* Pelloux recriminates against the extreme Left, chief among them the Socialists, for the "sorry state" of social unrest in the midst of incipient economic progress to which, he believes, they had reduced Italy during the 1890's. But he bitterly and, from his point of view, correctly castigates his former friends now become his "real enemies," the constitutional Liberals who were led by Giuseppe Zanardelli and Giolitti, for their "treacherous" abandonment of *his* conception of king and country. The assassination of King Umberto at Monza by the anarchist Bresci on July 29, 1900, is seen by Pelloux as a logical consequence of Socialist agitation and Liberal obstructionism. Over a decade after the events, it does not seem to enter into the economy of Pelloux's remembrances of his own political activity only recently past that in 1899-1900 it was

he, as Prime Minister laboring under the inspiration of Sonnino, who had defied the *Statuto* by introducing the decree laws whose passage by the Chamber of Deputies would have spelled the suicidal end not only of parliamentary legality but also of the civil and political freedoms of the constitutional regime in Italy. Soon even the supreme tribunals of the Italian judicial system—the *Corte dei Conti* and the *Cassazione*—unequivocally told the general that he was dangerously wrong; this, in June 1900, forced him to relinquish power. (Writing these words in Rome during the immediate aftermath of the 1968 “May Revolution,” I cannot help but wonder at the subtle contrasting moves through which an apparently greater general than Pelloux has managed to remain in power in France!) As some others of his *métier* before and after him, Pelloux knew a lot but understood practically nothing and tells us even less in his memoirs concerning what was happening to his nation and his people at the end of the nineteenth century. Though his *Souvenirs* hardly skim the surface of vital social and political problems of his day, Pelloux has rightly remained the symbol of a genuine turning point in modern Italian history. With his fall, post-*Risorgimento* conservatism ended and pre-Fascist liberalism dawned in Italy. Contrary to his own and his friends’ fears, after Pelloux in Italy came not the deluge of subversive Socialism but the fresh wind of Giolittian liberal democracy.

The real surprise of this volume of memoirs lies less in the text than in the long introduction. With an objectivity and equanimity somewhat rare in contemporary Italian Marxist historical writing, Gastone Manacorda has reconstructed the life and political career of one of the *bêtes noires* of liberal historiography. Based not merely on the *Souvenirs* that he has so carefully edited but even more on the vast archival material that Pelloux’s grandson has placed at his disposal, Manacorda’s introduction has done the old officer greater historical justice than seemed possible until now. For while the *Souvenirs* illuminate the personality of their author, they do little for the historical conditions and motivations through which he operated particularly during the culminating moment of crisis of 1899–1900. It is rather Manacorda who places Pelloux in the true perspective of his times, activity, and objectives. The introduction alone turns the irrelevant ceremonial details of a career officer’s life and the anachronistically self-serving memory of an old general who had lost a crucial political war into a precious instrument and valid document for a new historical reconstruction of an Italian time of trouble.

University of Rochester

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

DECLINO E PRIMA CRISI DELL'EUROPA DI VERSAILLES: STUDIO SULLA DIPLOMAZIA ITALIANA ED EUROPEA (1931–1933). By Fulvio D'Amoja. [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze giuridiche, economiche, politiche e sociali della Università di Messina, Number 80.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1967. Pp. iv, 510. L. 4,400.)

THE premise of this study is unassailable: an unfortunate change occurred in European international relations with the financial crisis of the 1930's, the breakdown of disarmament talks, the impasse over reparations and war debts, the rise of Hitler, and the German withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933. Fulvio D'Amoja analyzes the European diplomacy of these years in terms

of Italian policy, and this focus has some advantages, even if it means that the Manchurian crisis is barely mentioned and the Little Entente is considered more in terms of Italian maneuvers than French interests. Italy's foreign policy was activist enough to assure the country a part in every major crisis, undecided enough to win it considerable attention from all Powers, and contradictory enough to mirror the weakness and lack of direction in the foreign policies of every major country. This is diplomatic history in the grand style: detailed and full, fair to the personalities and interests of the various states, cognizant of economic pressures and domestic politics, and sufficiently spacious to allow telling anecdotes and interesting quotations.

The book's major thesis is that the Italian aim, even under Fascism, remained a traditional one of seeking the pivotal position in a European balance until, by 1932, the contradictions became too great between a policy of international agreements and security on the one hand and reconstructing the balance of power, which meant supporting a revival of German influence, on the other. Mussolini, D'Amoja argues, sought in 1932 a grander and more Fascist policy. The change coincided with the declining influence of Italy's professional diplomatic service and culminated in the *Duce's* proposal for a four-power pact. When Britain and France reduced the pact to another statement resembling that formulated at Locarno and Hitler suddenly withdrew from the League, Italian Fascism lost caste as Europe's most daring critic of bourgeois internationalism. Neither of Italy's two policies had gained it very much, but then neither had its ambitious meddling in the Balkans or its dealings with Hungary and Soviet Russia, all of which receive considerable attention here.

The argument is interesting and, I think, convincing; the book's judiciousness and range are admirable, and the author's knowledge of American, British, French, and German historical literature is extraordinary. Yet one wonders if his heroic efforts have quite succeeded. The period covered is so short that the larger causes of the diplomatic disasters of the 1930's remain shadows in the background. The canvas is so broad that no single issue, no nation's policy, seems newly illuminated. Even for Italy, this study invites little generalization about the role of Fascist ideology or about the diplomatic style and ambitions of Mussolini. Neither the use of the microfilmed German documents nor of the papers of the Italian delegation to the League adds any real surprises. Just as the diplomatic crisis in the 1930's did not produce coherent diplomacy, such important subjects, even when well treated, do not always result in important books.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

IOBĂGIA ÎN TRANSILVANIA ÎN SECOLUL AL XVI-LEA [Serfdom in Transylvania in the 16th Century]. Volumes I and II. By *D. Prodan*. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1967; 1968. Pp. x, 595; x, 862. Lei 37; Lei 48.)

THIS is a pioneering study of a decisive period in the evolution of peasant-landlord relations in Transylvania. In examining a variety of problems that up to now have been treated only in general terms, the author has been primarily concerned with establishing a solid factual basis upon which to evaluate the causes of the decline of the free peasantry and the ascendancy of the feudal land-

lord. He gives little attention to peasant uprisings and other forms of struggle against serfdom because, as dominant themes in Rumanian historiography for the past twenty years, the literature on these questions is abundant. His principal sources are unpublished and largely unused archival materials—lists of dues and services (*urbaria*) owed by peasants to their landlords, estate account books and inventories, and registers of tithes and other feudal taxes. The area of his inquiry is the Greater Transylvania ceded to Rumania by Hungary after the First World War, not the smaller, historical principality. Consequently, he often refers to conditions in Hungary, but makes no attempt at a comparative study.

Volume I is divided into two parts. The first serves as an introduction and analyzes the relationship between peasant and landlord in the fifteenth century, largely on the basis of documents emanating from the two massive peasant uprisings of 1437 and 1514. A comparison of the two conventions of 1437 between the peasants and the nobles, on the one hand, and the legislation of the Transylvanian diet of 1514 and the *Tripartitum*, a compilation of laws and judicial decisions published in 1517, on the other, reveals a serious deterioration in the peasantry's economic and legal status. The latter sources, according to the author, mark the momentous turn in the historical evolution of Eastern Europe away from capitalism in agriculture and a loosening of feudal bonds, characteristic of the economic development of Western Europe, toward what is sometimes called the "second serfdom." The second, and larger, part of the volume deals with this phenomenon. With the same meticulous attention to detail as he showed for the fifteenth century, the author traces the evolution of the feudal domain in the sixteenth century, the end product of which was an increase of production on the lord's reserve and the abolition of the peasant's freedom of movement. He concludes that the causes of these changes were different from those operating elsewhere in Eastern and Central Europe and are to be found not in the demands of Western Europe for foodstuffs from the region or, in fact, in the growth of an internal market for the products of the manor, but rather in economic and political conditions peculiar to Transylvania.

The second volume consists of a detailed examination of *urbaria*, account books and inventories of the wealth and possessions of the lord's manor, and registers of tithes paid from numerous domains and individual villages, mostly in the western and northern regions of Transylvania. In general, the material has been arranged chronologically, so that the process of development may be more easily followed. It is upon this mass of detail and the painstaking analysis of it that the author has based his conclusions in Volume I.

This work is a major contribution to the study of the feudal domain and the institution of serfdom in Eastern Europe. It will open the way to a reconsideration of old assumptions and will provide a stimulus to research in hitherto neglected areas.

University of Illinois, Champaign

KEITH HITCHINS

SUPPLEX LIBELLUS VALACHORUM. By *David Prodan*. (Bucharest: Editura Științifică. 1967. Pp. 536. Lei 24.50.)

THE Rumanian national movement in Transylvania in the eighteenth century has been the subject of numerous scholarly studies as well as the source of

considerable controversy. The present work is the most original and comprehensive interpretation of the subject to date, and, while some critics may regard its orientation as too national in tone, the scholarship upon which it rests is unequalled.

Professor Prodan is primarily concerned with the concept "Rumanian nation" and the forces that determined its evolution. The *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, the petition drawn up by the Rumanians of Transylvania and presented to the Emperor Leopold II in 1791, provides him with a convenient point of departure. As the most important political act of the Rumanians in the eighteenth century, it offers an ideal opportunity both to review the prior history of their struggle for self-determination and to compare this with subsequent events through the Revolution of 1848.

After summarizing the contents of the *Supplex Libellus*, the author devotes the remainder of his work to establishing a proper perspective from which to examine the two extreme and contradictory interpretations of the historical significance of the *Supplex Libellus*, namely, that it was backward-looking and exuded the spirit characteristic of the feudal society against which it was directed, or that it was a revolutionary act far in advance of its time. Successive chapters deal with the origins of the concept "Rumanian nation," described as ethnic from the fifteenth century on and sharply differentiated from the Hungarian, Saxon, and Szekler political nations; the brief reign of Michael the Brave over Transylvania at the end of the sixteenth century, which established the idea of Rumanian rule in Transylvania in the national consciousness; the political realities of the seventeenth century, during which Rumanian intellectuals, priests, and nobles could obtain civil and economic rights only by joining one of the three privileged nations; the union with the Roman Catholic Church at the end of the seventeenth century, which provided the Rumanian nation with the first opportunity to manifest its political consciousness; the career of Bishop Ion Inochentie Micu of the new Uniat Church, "the most imposing political figure of the Rumanians of Transylvania in the eighteenth century," whose work was the actual starting point of their struggle for emancipation; the enlightened despotism of Joseph II, which swept away the main legal and cultural obstacle to the Rumanian national revival; the national significance of the peasant uprising of 1784; and the diffusion in Eastern Europe of the new social and political ideas that originated in the West during the eighteenth century.

Throughout his detailed narrative the author stresses the broad national character of the political and social struggles of the Rumanians. He sees no serious division within the ranks of either the intellectuals or the peasants as a result of the church union with Rome; both groups, he contends, were united in the pursuit of their respective goals. Even the differences in emphasis between the intellectuals' concern for political self-determination and the peasants' striving for economic reforms he regards as merely two sides of a single national movement with the clergy as solder. He considers the formation of the Rumanian nation completed with the fusion of these two currents in 1848, when the intellectuals recognized the peasantry as an integral part of the nation and insisted that national emancipation be social as well as political and accomplished by their common efforts.

In conclusion, Prodan returns to the *Supplex Libellus* for a final appraisal.

It was, he maintains, neither a reactionary nor a revolutionary act, neither a response to influences from abroad nor the sudden creation of any specific group, but rather the product of a given stage in the evolution of the Rumanian nation.

Thorough in its investigation of the considerable literature on the subject and judicious in its analysis, this work is not only a major contribution to the history of a particular national movement; it is also an indispensable study of the genesis of modern nationalism in Eastern Europe as a whole.

University of Illinois, Champaign

KEITH HITCHINS

- REFORMA AGRARĂ DIN 1864 [The Agrarian Reform in 1864]. By N. Adăniloae and Dan Berindei. [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga." Biblioteca Istorică, Number 13.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1967. Pp. 361. Lei 24.)
- LUPTA ROMÂNILOR PENTRU UNITATEA NAȚIONALĂ, 1834-1849 [The Rumanian Struggle for National Unity, 1834-1849]. By Cornelia Bodea. [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga."] (Bucharest: the Academia. 1967. Pp. xvi, 390. Lei 23.50.)

THESE are both remarkable works. Adăniloae and Berindei have written the definitive study on agrarian reform and its consequences, emphasizing the problems of the period 1864-1889. Berindei's contribution, limited to the reform itself and the year 1864, stresses the economic and legal aspects of the emancipation of the Rumanian peasantry. Adăniloae is concerned primarily with the political consequences of the reform. The book is essentially a work *de synthèse*, based primarily on published sources. The novelty and quality of the contribution are derived from sober interpretation of the original materials and reinterpretation of earlier, more biased, studies of the agrarian reform of 1864.

The originality of Bodea's work is derived from the analysis of entirely new primary sources rather than from reaffirmation of the validity of objective scholarly methods. Her principal contribution to the history of Rumanian nationalism consists of her uncovering the exact nature of the relationship between the national movement of the Rumanians of Transylvania and those of Wallachia and Moldavia. The traditional view that the Transylvanian movement was complementary and supplementary to the others prior to the Revolutions of 1848 is invalidated by the conclusive evidence presented by Bodea. Militant intellectuals belonging to cultural and literary associations in all Rumanian-inhabited provinces contemplated the coordination of revolutionary activities on an integral Rumanian basis for at least a decade before the events of 1848. According to Bodea, the union of the three provinces into a national Rumanian state was envisaged, if not concretely planned, at a time and in a manner quite different than had been assumed by most students of Rumanian history. No attempt is made to misuse the ample documentary evidence to prove untenable theses such as mass acceptance of the ideas of the militants and the corollary existence of a well-organized movement for national unification in the 1830's and early 1840's. Avoidance of such temptations and rigorous adherence to the highest standards of scholarship place the work of Bodea, like Adăniloae's and Berindei's, in the category of major contributions to the history of nineteenth-century Rumania. It is therefore all the

more regrettable that the practice of including foreign-language summaries of the principal arguments and conclusions has not been followed in either volume.

University of Colorado

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

DER UNGARISCHE REVISIONISMUS UND DIE ZERSCHLAGUNG DER TSCHECHOSLOWAKEI. By Jörg K. Hoensch. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 23.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1967. Pp. xiv, 323. Cloth DM 46, paper DM 41.)

IN its careful presentation, this volume continues the high standard of Dr. Hoensch's earlier study of Nazi policy in Slovakia during 1938-1939, *Die Slowakei und Hitlers Ostpolitik*. The central theme of this work is the Hungarian policy of seeking to revise its frontiers with Czechoslovakia in the period between the two world wars.

Since the Treaty of Trianon, in which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory, Budapest had become a hotbed of intrigue against its neighbors. On the advice of both Hitler and Mussolini, the Budapest government selected the Czechoslovak Republic as its main target. It sided openly, if cautiously, with Germany in the crisis of September 1938. After Munich, both Budapest and Berlin coordinated their efforts toward the destruction of Czechoslovakia. However, despite its large territorial gains, Hungary played a dangerous game with its own independence. Its close association with the policies of Rome and Berlin proved the country's initial concept of armed neutrality to be impractical. As early as the spring of 1939 the new power constellation in East Central Europe, which Hungary had helped to bring about, had made Hungary a German satellite.

In preparing this study the author has drawn heavily on German, Polish, Hungarian, and Czechoslovak documents, and he uses exhaustively all available printed sources. Hoensch skillfully unravels the complex diplomatic threads of the Hungarian revisionist policy against the background of its European setting. He is at his best when analyzing the intricacies of diplomatic actions and detailing the interrelationship between Hungarian aims and the policies of German, Polish, Italian, and Western diplomacy. The author examines in detail the unscrupulous and devious maneuvers of each succeeding Budapest government, singlemindedly pursuing the restoration of prewar borders as its national objective. The narrative provides many new insights into the diplomatic scene during 1938-1939. The most interesting portions of the volume are the sections dealing with the Hungarian-Polish cooperation, in which Hoensch portrays incisively the fateful role of the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck. Beck emerges as one of the main promoters of a common Polish-Hungarian border. Throughout the study, the author follows the evidence meticulously and refrains from inserting his own comments. In his thoroughness he continues the old tradition of German diplomatic historiography.

This monograph is disappointing, however, in its overwhelmingly descriptive and pedestrian detail, treating the political and international issues in terms of the diplomatic actions of a few protagonists. The author's indifference to, or perhaps unawareness of, the larger problems prevents him from relating his perceptive analysis of diplomatic subtleties to political, social, economic, and

ideological developments. Surprisingly enough, Czechoslovak foreign policy receives very thin treatment. The author appears to have given little thought to the fact that a semifeudal Hungarian regime attacked what was the most advanced democratic system in Central Europe. These limitations stem mainly from the author's narrow concept of foreign policy and diplomacy as mere reflections of the decision-making power of a few political leaders and diplomats.

The volume contains an excellent bibliography, but the index is limited to persons. Despite its shortcomings, however, this valuable work greatly illuminates developments leading to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1939.

Tulane University

RADOMIR V. LUZA

FROM PRAGUE AFTER MUNICH: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1938-1940.

By *George F. Kennan*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 266. \$6.50.)

THIS is a valuable collection of thirty-six official reports and private letters dealing with events in Czechoslovakia, from the Munich conference to the outbreak of World War II, by the distinguished American diplomat and historian George F. Kennan, who served as secretary of the United States legation at Prague during that fateful year. Following the outbreak of the war, Kennan was transferred to Berlin, but he had an opportunity to make brief visits to Prague until the fall of 1940. His final report, which is dated in October 1940, constitutes—as its title, “A Year and a Half of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia,” indicates—a summary view of the unhappy country.

When Kennan was appointed to Prague, he was only a junior Foreign Service officer but already a seasoned observer of the European scene. His reports on Czechoslovakia were remarkably perceptive. His pen was as polished then as it is now. Although he wrote with the studied detachment of the trained Foreign Service officer, his sympathy for the Czechs, though not for the Slovaks, came through clearly in his reports. As historical sources, his reports on Czech-German relations conducted until March 1939 on the international level and afterward within the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, are undoubtedly the most valuable. His commentaries on Slovak-German and Slovak-Czech relations, though less perceptive, are also valuable. The subtleties of Czech, and, a fortiori, Slovak and Ruthenian, internal politics apparently escaped him, however. Of Czech and Slovak personalities he tells virtually nothing. Presumably, his personal contacts at Prague were not extensive. If true, this was understandable. After Munich the Czechs had little inclination to cultivate the acquaintance of a Western diplomat, and, after the German occupation in March 1939, it was not safe for them to do so. Kennan's principal source of information appears to have been the Czech and Slovak press, which he claims to have been able to read, thanks to his knowledge of Russian.

The dearth of information on the Czech and Slovak personalities is made up, to some extent, by inclusion in the volume of a list of the *dramatis personae*, which is, unfortunately, neither complete nor accurate. The volume is provided with a historical introduction by Kennan and with a thoughtful epilogue by Professor Frederick G. Heymann, the distinguished student of Bohemian history.

University of Georgia

VICTOR S. MAMATEY

CYPRUS: CONFLICT AND CONCILIATION, 1954-1958. By *Stephen G. Xydis*. [Publication of the Mershon Center for Education in National Security.] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 704. \$15.00.)

THIS is not a complete study of the Cyprus question from 1954 to 1958, but, rather, it is essentially a diplomatic history that concentrates on Greece's recourses to the United Nations. The author's purpose is not only to illumine Greek policy but also to analyze the debates and accompanying negotiations on Cyprus at the twelfth General Assembly in 1957. He has achieved his objectives.

Most of the book concerns the year 1957. There is some general background on the Cyprus question along with an examination of Greece's recourse to the UN in 1954. Xydis then takes up the eleventh General Assembly, which produced a resolution (1013) on Cyprus in February 1957, goes on to discuss intervening events and negotiations, and then settles down to his account of the twelfth assembly later that year. Four days of debate in the Political Committee are allotted 175 pages; the somewhat anticlimactic assembly vote receives rather less space. An epilogue on the thirteenth assembly in 1958, which again produced a resolution on Cyprus (1287), is followed by conclusions that discuss stages of procedure in the UN, some theoretical constructs of political science and sociology, and the interaction of conventional and parliamentary diplomacy.

What emerges from this careful account is a picture of Greek plans to advocate self-determination for Cyprus in the UN, its attempts to avoid tripartite discussions that would allow Turkey a vital role, the necessary compromises made once the Cyprus question was aired in the world forum, and the influence this airing had on creating the climate for the tripartite agreements on an independent Cyprus in 1959. The author has much to say, often interesting, on the role of the United States and India as well as of Britain. Resolutions 1013 (XI) and 1287 (XIII) are only the superficial portion of the iceberg.

Xydis bases his account on published documents and memoirs plus the private papers of Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza, the Greek Foreign Minister. These papers are not described in detail; nor do the notes refer to them. Xydis' viewpoint is Greek, but more from the nature of his materials than from any emotionalism. The book is cool and factual; there are a few sarcastic remarks on British moves, and the portrait of Makarios is a bit unflattering. The chief drawback of the book is its length. Extensive summaries of speeches prove boring, and in places this work is almost chronicle. The best sections are the short ones on corridor diplomacy and on the 1958 assembly. Had it been half as long, the book would have been twice as good. Beyond the 563 pages of text there are 20 pages of documents, 90 of backnotes, 6 of bibliography, and an index.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

MONASTYRI NA RUSI I BOR'BA S NIMI KREST'IAN V XIV-XVI VEKAKH (PO "ZHITIIM SVIATYKH") [Monasteries in Russia and the Peasants' Struggle with Them in the 14th-16th Century (According to "The Lives of the Saints")]. By *I. U. Budovnits*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 390.)

THE late I. U. Budovnits' last book is an attempt to throw new light on the economic and social history of the Russian monasteries of the Muscovite period by a

careful rereading of the "saints' lives" of their founders. The primary target of the author's strictures is the rather romantic traditional view that the Muscovite monastic saints sought solitude by founding their communities in remote and uninhabited areas and became the managers of great landed estates only gradually and more by accident than by design. In place of the older view, Budovnits presented his own sweeping hypotheses: that the founders of the monastery were ambitious entrepreneurs who sought opportunities that feudal society elsewhere denied them by establishing themselves in areas already populated and by striving, from the very beginning, to extend their landholdings and their control over the labor of the surrounding peasant population. If the resulting book can be said to follow an artistic form, it is that of theme and variations; the author stated his theses *a priori* and then applied them rather mechanically to a long succession of individual cases.

The quality of his work is uneven, to say the least. The best chapter, the description of the founding of the Holy Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery, makes the significant points that St. Sergius was a member of a prominent family and that he founded his community in an area very close to important centers of population with which he regularly kept in touch. On the other hand, he makes the Solovetskii Monastery conform to his hypotheses only by distorting his principal source, the "Life" of Saints Savatii and Zosima, almost beyond recognition and adding some spectacular *non sequiturs* to his argument as well. His treatment of the Solovetskii Monastery is therefore far inferior to the earlier Soviet study of A. A. Savich (*Solovetskāia voitchina*), a work that, unaccountably, Budovnits does not mention at all.

In this connection, I cannot avoid the suspicion that Budovnits' work was written many years ago and subjected to only minor revisions before publication. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the exceptionally fine work of recent Soviet scholars, notably Ia. S. Lur'e and A. A. Zimin, had no appreciable impact on Budovnits' interpretation of the relations of the great monasteries with the crown.

Monastyr'i na Rusi performs a useful service in cataloguing the main Muscovite monasteries and in presenting extensive quotations from the many unpublished "saints' lives." It is far less serviceable, however, as an interpretation of the rise of the monasteries. The rigidity of the author's approach and his frequent unreliability ultimately mean that his work merely substitutes new clichés for old. A historian who wishes to take a fresh and hardheaded look at the history of the Muscovite monasteries would do well to follow the lead of scholars like Savich, not of Budovnits.

Yale University

ROBERT O. CRUMMEY

RUSSIA AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. By Herbert H. Kaplan. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. x, 165. \$5.75.)

KAPLAN's book is the fruit of painstaking researches in Russian, British, and Austrian archives. From the impressive amount of material gathered there, the author has drawn relatively little information that is really new. The documents he has worked through have been largely either published, at least in part, or

used by other scholars. He did not even get any surprising news from the Russian archives, as the most important papers have already been printed.

Kaplan's investigation focuses the events from the origin of the Convention of Westminster to the conclusion of the anti-Prussian alliances. His lucid and detailed description of the moves and reactions of the governments concerned centers on Russia. He charges Empress Elizabeth with the responsibility for the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe, rightly emphasizing the decisive role of Russian policy, which, indeed, had long been aimed at destroying Prussia by force of arms.

But the genesis of this policy remains beyond the author's field of vision. He only summarily explains that it sprang in the mind of Empress Elizabeth from a combination of well-grounded political objectives and emotional motives. In his opinion, Elizabeth was urging the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Prussia. Actually the initiator of and the driving force behind this policy was Grand Chancellor Bestuzhev-Riumin. Already in 1744, when the pacific Empress was still averse to armed intervention against Prussia for the benefit of Maria Theresa, whom she then detested, Bestuzhev conceived the plan of annexing Polish territory in exchange for East Prussia. Not before he had cunningly enkindled in Elizabeth an implacable hatred against Frederick the Great did Bestuzhev succeed in gaining her support in the aggressive anti-Prussian policy he had initiated and was sternly advocating against the violent opposition of court, bureaucracy, and clergy. Elizabeth wanted to go to war with Frederick on purely personal grounds. The war aims, formed much earlier by Bestuzhev and sanctioned by the "Conference" in 1756, were indifferent to her; she did not care so much for conquests.

Thus Kaplan has misrepresented the respective influence of the Empress and the Chancellor. He holds Russia "culpable" on account of its provocative mobilization in 1756. The blame ought to be laid rather on the determined and ruthless statesman than on the peaceable and irresolute Empress, though in time she eagerly adopted and continued the war Bestuzhev had designed. By the pressure his policy had for years exerted on Frederick, Bestuzhev contributed most to shape the situation that caused the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.

Hanover, Germany

WALTHER MEDIGER

CATHERINE THE GREAT AND THE RUSSIAN NOBILITY: A STUDY BASED ON THE MATERIALS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION OF 1767. By *Paul Dukes*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 268. \$9.50.)

Russia's social development in the eighteenth century, and particularly the role of the *dvorianstvo*, has attracted increasing attention in recent years, while the questions that scholars are trying to answer are becoming more sophisticated. The concepts of social organization, mobility, and change that underlie recent work by Marc Raeff, M. Confino, and, in another sense, Mikhail Shtrange, suggest not only a rich diversity of social phenomena, but also the extraordinary significance that attaches to the gentry group. When we add the importance of Catherine II's era, both for the history of the gentry and for the social history of Russia, Mr.

Dukes's title and subject become alluring indeed. The book itself, however, while valuable, falls somewhat short of the subject's importance and the level of analysis that the problem deserves. The study is an expanded and revised doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of London, and its core is a painstakingly detailed description of gentry opinion on a range of basic subjects considered at Catherine's Legislative Commission of 1767. The style is generally clear, though unexciting, the documentation is profuse, and within the study's rather narrow limits, the primary research is thorough. The method, apart from the introductory chapters, is essentially to outline a problem, such as noble rights and privileges, or the economy, then to explain the Empress' position and what the gentry said. The result is a catalogue of particulars without any special focus or evaluative thesis, and the larger issues, on which Dukes's materials clearly bear, receive relatively little attention. There is no consistent attempt, for example, to evaluate gentry attitudes toward obligatory service or toward themselves as a service class, though in this area the evidence is very rich, and the views Dukes cites, almost without comment, seem to contrast rather sharply with Raeff's recent portrayal. In effect, the book is full of interesting, carefully documented facts that seem to lead nowhere. Thus we learn that 80 per cent of the signatories on instructions in the central provinces were military men and that "Military personnel tended to predominate among the marshals as well as among the deputies. . . ." The fact itself is certainly worth noting, but what it means, or why it is significant, is never explained. Although the data dominate the book to the exclusion of interpretation, some specific issues are handled very well. For example, Dukes's revision of the standard interpretation of Peter III's "emancipation decree" was deft and convincing, and for my part opens an interesting question concerning the Charter of 1785 as well as Paul's sweeping revision of gentry rights. Though the question cannot be debated here, Dukes's approach creates a context in which to consider Paul's reform and renders it somewhat less revolutionary.

On the whole, scholars interested in the opinions and attitudes expressed during the "Great Commission" will find a wealth of information in the text of Dukes's book and a guide to more in the footnotes. The book in this sense is valuable. Its weakness, in my opinion, is that it is too close to the research notes and therefore lacks both an interpretive thesis and analytic criteria for evaluating the material recorded.

Temple University

RODERICK E. MCGREW

THE PEASANT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA. By *John S. Curtiss et al.* Edited by *Wayne S. Vucinich*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. xx, 314. \$8.50.)

WESTERN scholarship on nineteenth-century Russia has concentrated so one-sidedly on the intelligentsia and its movements that one approaches with anticipation a symposium devoted to the peasantry, a group that as late as the end of the nineteenth century constituted about 85 per cent of the population. Eight papers are presented between the editor's introduction and Nicholas Riasanovsky's summary afterword. Certain of the editor's remarks encourage one to expect a con-

sistent focus upon the nature of peasant culture, and its fate once caught up in the process of Russia's modernization. These profoundly important questions are touched on only sporadically, however, and the collection in fact lacks a unified perspective.

Mary Matossian's paper on the peasant way of life abounds in fascinating and not readily accessible ethnographic detail, but it offers disappointingly little on the patterning of peasant culture, its values, and world view. Donald Treadgold's paper on religion does not fill this gap, although it does succeed in clearing up one widespread misconception. It is regrettable that Treadgold did not press his brief and tentative effort to apply certain of Robert Redfield's fruitful concepts to Russia's peasant society rather than occupy himself with less rewarding matters. Perhaps the freshest contribution to the volume is the sensitive monograph by Terence Emmons on early peasant reaction to the emancipation. John Curtiss provokes reflection with his suggestion that the peasant-soldier's reliability declined, in spite of improved conditions in the service, as his consciousness was affected by changes in the larger society.

Francis Watters manages to add a few touches to the well-known portrait of the village commune. Reginald Zelnik stresses the phenomenon of continuous recruitment of factory labor from the countryside and the resulting identity problems and tensions. This interesting, though occasionally turbid, paper might have been more broadly significant had its subject been related to problems of economic development and the clash of class interests. Michael Petrovich's review of the historical literature on the peasantry, and his summaries of the controversies over the village commune and the origins of serfdom, will certainly prove helpful. Donald Fanger's absorbing essay on the changing image of the peasant in Russian literature forcibly reminds us how hazardous the uncritical use of literary sources may be for the historian.

This volume brings together much interesting and useful information, and it poses some challenging problems. The narrowness of the source base of some of the articles, the lamentations of several of the authors concerning inadequate documentation, and the quality of the Emmons article, which is partially based on archival research, all point to the need to exploit opportunities for research in the USSR. Such investigations are indispensable if we are to do as well on the social and cultural aspects of the Russian past as on its intellectual history.

University of California, San Diego

SAMUEL H. BARON

THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1800-1860. By William L. Blackwell. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 484. \$12.50.)

IN one place, Blackwell refers to his book as "a preliminary kind of work . . . a mapping out of territory never before adequately surveyed . . . in Western literature." This is an apt description. The book offers significant and carefully compiled information on a number of elements in the industrialization of Russia from 1800 to 1860, including the kinds of industry and the circumstances of their separate developments; the effects of state policy on industrialization; the roles

of Old Believers, Jews, and foreigners; the problems of transportation; and the evolution of technology and technical education. The purpose of all this is "to explore the more immediate causes and the background of the rapid industrial growth which began in Russia during the late tsarist period." The book achieves the purpose. By the time the reader finishes, he can see many facets of a foundation for industrial growth in the Russian society of 1860.

When it comes to synthesizing these materials, however, and explaining "why Russia failed to industrialize rapidly and comprehensively," the book falls short. There are many details relating to industrialization and backwardness, but no clear statement of what the terms industrialization and backwardness are supposed to include, either in general or in Russia. Blackwell points to some distinctive features of Russian industrialization in the years 1800-1860, some events and developments from preceding periods, and some of the circumstances under which the industrialization went forward, but he does not say much about their significance or the connections between them. There is no clear concept of *the* distinctive features of Russian industrialization in these years or how they relate to the historical background and the circumstances of the time. In short, the book lacks structure. It is not so much a study of Russian industrialization as a collection of materials that would be useful in making such a study.

Blackwell refers to some policies and views of the period that were relevant to industrialization, but his account only shows that there were such policies and views. It does not explain their connection with the circumstances, problems, or prevailing attitudes of the time. Blackwell is content to show that Mordvinov, for example, expressed himself in favor of commercial and industrial expansion, but apparently he does not think it necessary to mention that Mordvinov also considered it progressive to preserve the rights of serf owners and to set the state peasants under private owners. It may be argued that the question of serfdom is not per se germane to industrialization, but if Mordvinov's attitudes are to be discussed at all, it is not only superficial but misleading simply to stick him at one end of a contrived for-and-against-industry spectrum without giving any idea of the context in which he formed his views. Similarly, it is a distortion to dismiss Kankrin as opposed to industrial development without giving careful consideration to the weaknesses in government and society that he saw or thought he saw and the effects of commercial and industrial development that he feared.

Blackwell's treatment of Russian attitudes toward industrialization reflects his general reluctance to depart from what he calls "traditional economic history." It is, of course, necessary and commendable to limit one's topic in some way, but by confining his concept of industrialization to a number of specific developments, Blackwell has unintentionally made it appear to be little more than a forward march. Of the dilemmas that commercial and industrial development created in Russia, he has very little to say. It is obvious that he is quite aware of them; nevertheless, a reader can go all the way through the book without ever suspecting that economic growth tended to render the peasants helpless both before and after 1860. Nothing in Blackwell's book resembles the profound perceptions of Karl Polanyi regarding the peculiar twists of industrial development in England. Indeed, we would settle for the formulations from Weber, Sombart, Black, Gershenkron, Baykov, and Kuznets that Blackwell promises in his introduction, but

in the conclusion, all we get is Rostow. Is there nothing to be derived from all this material, so diligently assembled, than the discovery that, in 1800-1860, Russia was moving toward a "takeoff"?

University of Maryland

GEORGE L. YANEY

THE FIRST BOLSHEVIK: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF PETER TKACHEV. By *Albert L. Weeks*. (New York: New York University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 221. \$7.50.)

THE fascinating Peter Tkachev (1844-1886) is more than a forerunner of Lenin; he is the barometric symbol of the revolutionary atmosphere of his time. As was characteristic of his awakening generation, he was restless, beaverishly searching for solutions to numerous social problems of his country and of humanity. Tkachev had infinite faith in the intellect-will of a revolutionary elite destined to inject constructive force into a forthcoming social upheaval. He feared "atomic" individualism and genuinely believed that only by the dictatorship of a conscientious revolutionary minority could the masses be elevated to a lofty communal life. That he was unable to foresee Stalinist dehumanization, bureaucratic alienation, or devitalization of mass creativity is entirely beside the point. Many a prophet in history has failed to foresee the consequences of the application of his faith. Tkachev's pioneering faith in revolution by a minority for the good of the majority makes him a figure not to be overlooked in the history of Russian revolutionary ideas of the nineteenth century.

Albert L. Weeks undertakes to examine this personality. In his effort to interpret Tkachev he wastes much valuable space on such relatively unimportant subjects as the extent of Tkachev's influence upon Lenin. The impact of Tkachev upon Lenin's later political philosophy is often overstressed, supported as it is by sources equally as speculative as those used by the author. At times it leads to a striking "poverty of philosophy of history," that indicates how the author is chained to values that prevent him from grasping the true nature of Tkachev the revolutionary.

This short study suffers from what Soviet historians would call *golofaktizm* and *tsitatnichestvo*, literally "naked factism" and "citationism." There is an overabundance of citations, some running into as long as over two pages. This often weakens rather than strengthens the thesis and reveals an escape from interpretive responsibility. The thesis would have been strengthened much more in analytical breadth and depth by a description of the environment in which the lonely personality of Tkachev developed. He was a personality alienated at home and never befriended abroad, a lonely brooding man tantalized by the search for a solution to problems that were by no means fanciful.

Tkachev's death was as sorrowful as his life. He was mentally disturbed and incapable of wrestling with his critics when he died in Paris, not yet forty-two years of age. His funeral was attended by a handful of émigré mourners, and he was buried in a temporary grave. His few friends were unable to pay for a permanent plot, and for this reason his bones were exhumed in 1892 to be placed in an ossuary. What a climax of dehumanized alienation against which Tkachev

fought throughout his short and turbulent lifetime! When the seas of ideological passions recede and true human feelings return, it is hoped that a more perceptive and sympathetic biography of the colorful personality of Tkachev will be written.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA. By *Oskar Anweiler et al.* Edited by *Richard Pipes*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 55.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 365. \$7.95.)

THE thirteen papers collected in this stimulating volume were presented at Harvard University in 1967, the jubilee year of the Russian Revolution. As one might expect of their distinguished authors, the essays are written with discernment and insight. The appended comments and discussions, moreover, add substantially to the value of the book, and the editor has done well to include them.

The papers, as Professor Pipes notes, fall roughly into three categories. In the first group, the authors attempt to reconstruct a number of particularly complex and elusive episodes of the revolutionary period. John Erickson provides a careful and enlightening investigation of the origins of the Red Army. John Keep's valuable survey of the October Revolution in the provinces concentrates on the activities of the local Bolshevik party organizations, which are described clearly and perceptively. George Katkov supplies further evidence, beyond that already presented in his controversial book on the February Revolution (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 544), of German intelligence operations in Russia. The subject is undeniably important and has a certain compulsive fascination, but, as Alexander Dallin shows in his commentary, the critical role that Katkov attributes to German espionage efforts is not borne out by the evidence.

The second group of papers analyzes a variety of special problems relating directly or indirectly to the Revolution: Pipes on Lenin's intellectual development; Leonard Schapiro and Oskar Anweiler on the political thought of the first provisional government and of the Petrograd Soviet, respectively; Marc Ferro on the aspirations of the Russian people during the first weeks of the Revolution; Dietrich Geyer on the Bolshevik insurrection in Petrograd; and Jan Meijer on the struggle between town and country during the Civil War. Each essay offers rich fare for the student of revolutionary Russia. Of particular interest, however, is Ferro's study, which is based on Soviet archival sources—telegrams, letters, and petitions sent to the Duma and the Petrograd Soviet by thousands of ordinary Russian citizens—hitherto unavailable to Western scholars. How Ferro managed to lay hands on this treasure trove would doubtless make a fascinating story in itself. It is regrettable, however, that he did not make better use of his unique materials; his paper is noteworthy more for its novelty than for its depth of analysis.

The third category consists of wide-ranging reflections on the nature of the Revolution: George Kennan on the breakdown of the Russian autocracy; E. H. Carr on 1917 as a historical turning point; Maximilien Rubel on the relationship of Bolshevism to Marxism; and Adam Ulam on the "uses" of the Revolution, that is, the extent to which it succeeded in realizing the goals and aspirations of

its participants. This rich and diverse collection is sure to encourage further exploration of the vast and still largely uncharted terrain of revolutionary Russia.

Queens College

PAUL AVRICH

ISTORIIA MEZHDUNARODNYKH OTNOSHENII I VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR, 1917-1967 GG. [History of the International Relations and Foreign Policy of the USSR, 1917-1967]. Volume I, 1917-1939 GG. [1917-1939]. Edited by *A. A. Akhramovskii*. [Institut Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii, Kafedra Istorii, Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii i Vneshnei Politiki SSSR.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1967. Pp. 439.)

WRITTEN by nine authoritative Soviet scholars, this is the second edition of Volume I in a three-volume study embracing the Soviet Union's first fifty years in foreign affairs. Separate chapters describe events from the Decree on Peace of November 1917, through Brest-Litovsk, civil war and intervention, the exploration for diplomatic recognition in the 1920's, and the complex struggles of the 1930's until early September 1939. Little is added to what is known, for the authors are satisfied with a superficial narrative of events. Where the reader hopes for more enlightenment on such matters as Soviet-Japanese clashes along the boundaries of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian Republic (1938-1939) or Stalin's thinking as he approached the Nazi-Soviet Pact, less information is offered than may be found in standard American textbooks. Sixty-five footnotes refer to the sayings of Lenin; Marx and Engels get three citations, Kosygin two, Brezhnev three, Party Decrees four, and Party Congresses four; there are, however, no footnotes to indicate the sources of substantive information. Throughout the book, moreover, the most telling evidence (presented without proper citation) is provided by Western writers, making us wonder again why Soviet scholars so seldom use the massive documentary files that must surely lie in Soviet archives. Why, for example, is Winston Churchill still the best judge of how the Strang mission to Moscow in June 1939 affected the Russians?

This work is simply one more depressing exercise in Leninist scholasticism disguised as scholarship. Not only are new evidence and insight missing; one also seeks in vain for deeper analyses of national motives or for better understanding of the men who made policy and the circumstances that influenced them. The authors have little interest in such issues. Their introductory chapter establishes a crude deterministic framework within which rigidly defined and mechanistic laws of behavior of the "international socialist state" and the "imperialists" are said to operate; nothing remains, thereafter, but to set the events in order so that they properly demonstrate the workings of the laws. With Lenin pulling the strings, the story unfolds like a primitive morality play in which good and bad are so emphatically drawn that even the most bovine observer cannot fail to comprehend which side is godly, pure, and certain of victory, and which is ungodly and doomed.

Perhaps it is unreasonable to foment against the Soviet historical scholar's continuing subordination of truth to Communist dogma. Yet, because this drab determinism breeds contempt for human beings, for reason and scholarship, we

cannot but wish that the gentlemen who so ardently defend their nationalist ideology as historical truth would hearken to the criticism of the rest of the world and join other scholars in an honest examination of international relations. Such an effort might be profoundly embarrassing to all sides. It might also contribute to the cause of peace and justice.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

JUGGERNAUT: A HISTORY OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES. By *Malcolm Mackintosh*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 320. \$6.95.)

THE Soviet armed forces this year celebrated their fiftieth birthday. Middle age should bring with it respectability, status, and the right to look back on the course of events, failures as well as achievements. Few would question Mr. Mackintosh's judgment that the Soviet armed forces "have reached a position of power and a destruction capability second only to that of the United States." The Soviet Army, Navy, Air Force, and missile forces have been developed into a formidable instrument of Soviet policy ready to serve the government of the USSR in a peacetime role and, if necessary, in war. The development is all the more remarkable if one reviews, as this history does, the growth of the Soviet armed forces from the depths of defeat in 1917, through the turmoil of civil war with its guerrilla armies, Red Guards, the arduous process of rebuilding of a professional army, the purges of the thirties, the debacle of the Winter War against Finland, and the defeats and victories of World War II. Mackintosh succeeds in describing the inner strength and directing forces that carried the Soviet military machine through the great crises and tests that might have destroyed it before it had a chance ever to achieve its present form. With economy of words, the author brings to life the builders of the Red Army, Trotsky, Frunze, the tsarist officers Tukhachevsky and Shaposhnikov, the noncommissioned cavalry officer Budenny, the party stalwarts Timoshenko and Voroshilov, and the famous field commanders of World War II, Zhukov, Rokossovsky, Vasilevsky, Malinowski, and so many others. Indeed, the reader may find himself overwhelmed by too many names. But, as the story of the Soviet forces unfolds, the reader also realizes that, more than anything else, the fundamental strength, vitality, and endurance of the Soviet soldier, the ruthless determination of the military and political leadership, the ingenuity of Russian scientists, engineers, and managers, and the astounding productivity of Soviet industry were responsible for giving the Soviet forces the staying power that took them through the full course of adversity.

The author plays down the fierce and impersonal control of political commissars and the arbitrariness of Stalin, and he omits the vital contributions of the United States and Great Britain to the survival of the Soviet Union in the early part of the Russo-German campaign. It is regrettable also that the coverage of the battles of World War II in Russia are described almost exclusively, and not too critically, from the official Soviet account. The Soviet glorification of the Great Patriotic War has undergone and is undergoing changes to suit the leadership of the USSR, whether it be Stalin, Khrushchev, or the present rulers. Mackintosh's treatment of his subject is also of limited use for scholars because meaningful

footnotes and an authoritative bibliography are missing. While John Erickson has given us an authoritative account of the growth of the Soviet armed forces, Raymond Garthoff, Marshall Sokolovski, Thomas Wolfe, and Herbert Dinerstein have helped us understand the postwar and present phases. But, almost a quarter of a century after the events, the public is still waiting for a sound historical account of the greatest land war ever fought.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES VON LUTTICHAU

PARTIZANSKOE DVIZHENIE V GODY VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY, 1941-1945 (KRATKII OCHERK) [The Partisan Movement during the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945 (A Concise Essay)]. By L. N. Bychkov. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Sotsial'no-Ekonomicheskoi Literatury "Mysl'." 1965. Pp. 453.)

HEREIN is the most valuable publication on Soviet World War II guerrillas to appear in the USSR since Stalin's death. Although the work is ostensibly based on archival materials, Bychkov provides no major revelations. What he does is to bring together in systematic, comprehensive form the data on the partisans that have already been published in the Soviet Union. While some of this information appeared earlier in a reasonably concise form in the chapters on guerrilla warfare in the *Istoriia Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny* (Bychkov's major published source), most was scattered through hundreds of periodical and newspaper articles, regional histories, and memoirs. To be sure, the scholar should not expect Bychkov's book to provide the insights on officials' attitudes, nationality antagonisms, and popular reactions that partisan memoirs often contain. Apart from the fact that such memoirs are less formal and more detailed, they were published under widely varying political circumstances. As a result, examination of chronologically successive memoir publications enables one to assemble, across changing layers of official "truths," much of the sociological and political background of the partisan episode. Bychkov's work is limited to the "truth" of his publication date. For example, though the book went to press only a few weeks after Khrushchev's dismissal, his role is inordinately minimized, particularly in relation to organization of Czechoslovak partisans, while M. A. Suslov's role in the Caucasus appears somewhat exaggerated. Generally, however, Bychkov is conscientiously accurate in presenting the formal aspects of partisan organizational development, particularly the activity of Red Army front staffs in 1941-1942, the formation of regional partisan staffs under joint army-party control in mid-1942, and the assumption of full party control a year later. His major distortion, in sharp contrast to L. F. Tsanova, whose *Vsenarodnaia partizanskaia voina v Belorussii protiv fashistskikh zakhvatchikov* is still the most detailed Soviet treatment of partisans, is the virtually complete omission of reference to the key role of NKVD officials. Bychkov not only does not discuss the institutional role of the police, with the result that his treatment of the first months of partisan activity in 1941 is practically worthless; he even plays down the position of such well-known NKVD officers as T. A. Stokach.

While these limitations result from political considerations, the book's deficiencies in analyzing the strategical role of the partisans are less easily explained.

In contrast to many memoirs, Bychkov's treatment lacks relief because he appears unwilling to criticize aspects of partisan activity that were notoriously ineffective. His recitation of innumerable "heroic" anecdotes might lead one to think that he is completely oblivious to the essential aspects of his subject. In fact, careful reading shows that Bychkov recognizes the key importance of such aspects as railroad destruction during the Kursk offensive and later in Belorussia, or the value of the partisan units as refuges for civilians being impressed by German slave labor detachments. But, even from the Soviet viewpoint, a sharply analytic treatment would have been more valuable. As a descriptive summary of an enormously complex subject, and as a guide to an important institutional aspect of the Soviet system, Bychkov's work is most useful.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG

Near East

HISTORY OF IRANIAN LITERATURE. By *Jan Rypka et al.* Edited by *Karl Jahn*. (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company. 1968. Pp. v-xxvii, 928. \$35.00.)

IN this monumental work of unusual dimension, Professor Jan Rypka, octogenarian of the University of Prague and well-known author of many works and studies in the field of classical Persian literature, has attempted, with the help of his associates, to present a survey of the history of Iranian literature in all of its manifestations from the earliest times until the present. Though the original Czech editions of 1956 and 1961 and the later German translation of 1959 have already conveyed the quality and profundity of Rypka's scholarly approach to his topic, this English version, far from being but a translation, is in many ways a completely new work and surpasses in quantity, scope, and subject matter its predecessors and any other previous works on the topic. It is indeed a masterpiece, an encyclopedic handbook of the literary creativity of the Persian genius never before produced. The core of the volume is supplied by Rypka's "History of the Persian Literature up to the Beginning of the 20th Century," a thorough analysis of the literary works, their language, style, and form throughout the various ages and stages. Around this brilliant chapter center the contributions of his associates, all highly competent experts, which deal with "Avesta, Ancient Persian Inscriptions, and Middle Persian Literature" (Otakar Klima), "Persian Literature of the 20th Century" (Vera Kubickova), "Persian Learned Literature from Its Beginnings up to the End of the 18th Century" (Felix Tauer), "Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present" (Jiri Becka), "Persian Literature in India" (Jan Marek), and "Iranian Folk-Literature" (J. Cejpek).

A perusal of this new edition indicates that many of the sections have been revised and brought up to date and have taken into account literary discoveries and divergent views of scholars from both East and West. Two entirely new chapters have been incorporated, namely, "Persian Literature in India" and an "Outline of Judeo-Persian Literature," thus widening and broadening the horizon of the field considerably. None of the previous works on Persian literature such as Ethé, Horn, E. G. Browne, or A. J. Arberry have given so much space

and attention to the Judaeo-Persian branch of the literature as Rypka does, though his is but a condensed survey.

It can be stated without hesitancy that all the chapters fulfill the most exacting demands of scholarly accuracy and distinguish themselves by an unusual wealth of detailed information, critical analysis, and aesthetic presentation, supplemented by footnotes, a survey of the dynasties over Persia, a multilingual selected bibliography occupying 108 pages, addenda, and an elaborate index.

The scholarly world owes a great debt to the authors of so authentic a standard work, which will prove to be indispensable to Orientalist and layman alike. Special thanks should be expressed to Professor Karl Jahn of the University of Leiden, who supervised the English version and, as chief editor, was responsible for having brought this work to fruition.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHER

POLITICS AND CHANGE IN A TRADITIONAL SOCIETY: LEBANON, 1711-1845. By *Iliya F. Harik*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 324. \$9.00.)

THE high economic and social level of Lebanon, compared to other parts of the Middle East, has long attracted attention. Given the paucity of Lebanon's resources, the causes of its progress have been sought elsewhere, usually in the "ray of liberty" that Volney discerned and in the presence of a large Christian population that established contacts with Europe far earlier than did the surrounding lands and thus developed both education and trade. Recently, a complementary explanation has been suggested: that Lebanon, like Japan and unlike the rest of the Middle East and most of Asia, had a social and political system to which "feudalism" can be applied as a valid description rather than as the usual term of abuse. The decentralization and attitudes promoted by feudal relations may help to account for the initiative and entrepreneurship shown by the private sector in both countries.

This thesis gets much support from Professor Harik's excellent book. To an intimate personal knowledge of the country and very thorough research in both archival and published material he adds the insights of a political scientist. The result is by far the best study of its kind.

During the period ending in the 1860 massacres and the consequent intervention by the Great Powers, Lebanon's social structure changed drastically. Its trade developed, cash crops increasingly replaced subsistence farming, and urban population rose sharply. Its feudal political system broke down. The previous symbiosis, in which a Druze nobility ruled over Druze, Christian, and Muslim peasants was replaced by bitter communal strife, ending in a Maronite victory. The latter owed much to, and also greatly increased the power of, the Maronite church.

Harik carefully and skillfully describes this process. After a very illuminating account of the complex feudal relations, consisting of mutually recognized rights and obligations, prevailing in the eighteenth century, he turns to the main agent of change, the Maronite church. The traditional organization of the church is described, as are the reforms carried out thanks to closer contact with Rome and

the resulting spread of education. The growing political influence of Maronites, through the secretarial posts they occupied, is then noted. Finally, the rising tensions, culminating in the peasant revolts and communal strife of the 1820's and 1840's are recounted in detail.

I have only one major criticism: the economic changes that accompanied, and helped to set in motion, the social and political changes are completely ignored. Otherwise, this book deserves the highest praise.

Columbia University

CHARLES ISSAWI

BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF (1747-1778). By *Abdul Amir Amin*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. 163. 36 gls.)

Using for a basis the unpublished records housed in the Commonwealth Relations Office and in the Public Record Office, particularly the "Gombroon Diary," "Letters from Bussora," the "Bombay Public Consultations," an "Abstract of Letters Received from Bombay," and other factory records, the author reconstructs the position of the British trade in the Persian Gulf from 1747 to 1778. Out of a dazzling abundance of details, he has succeeded in outlining the major problems that the British had to face in the establishment of their trade factories in the Gulf, first in Bandar Abbas and then in Basra and Bushir. He gives a short survey of the rivalries between the Portuguese, Dutch, and French companies on the one hand and the unstable situation created by the conflicts between the Arab tribes and Ottoman and Persian interests on the other hand, and shows the relative consolidation, short-lived, however, under Karim Khan Zend, who ruled from Shiraz after 1752.

I combed the same manuscript material in the Bombay Record Office and in the India Office for a different research project, and I feel that the role of Armenian and Jewish merchants in the trade between the Gulf, Persia, and the Indian mainland, in which the famous Coja Jacob Aaron played so important a role as an agent and contractor of the raw silk trade from Gilan, has not been adequately stressed.

In a series of appendixes the author deals with the Dutch activities in the Persian Gulf during 1747-1765 and with several interesting administrative matters such as the staff of the factories, their annual salaries, the expenses of the British settlement at Basra, the arrival of ships during the summer of 1761, and many other technical aspects.

The author has undoubtedly given us a serious piece of research, a meritorious contribution to a hitherto neglected area of the economic history of the Anglo-Persian-Indian relationship. An index would have greatly added to the usefulness of this study.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHER

Africa

HISTORY OF EGYPT: AN EXTRACT FROM ABŪ L-MAḤĀSIN IBN TAGHRĪ BIRDĪ'S CHRONICLE ENTITLED ḤAWĀDITH AD-DUHŪR FĪ MAḌĀ L-'AYYĀM WASH-SHUHŪR (845-854 A.H., A.D. 1441-1450). Translated from the Arabic by *William Popper*. Prepared for

publication and edited by *Walter J. Fischel*. [American Oriental Series, Essay 5.] (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society. 1967. Pp. v, 60. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Fischel is to be highly commended for his effort in uncovering this last piece of Professor William Popper's scholarly activity. In some respects, both Popper and Ibn Taghrī Bardī (the preferred spelling), the fifteenth-century Muslim author whose prolific annals were illuminated by Popper's efforts, may be said to have possessed much in common. Both were outstanding students of history as well as great historians, and both devoted most of their lifetimes to the study of the history of Egypt, especially during the Mamluk period.

The son of a Turkish army commander, Ibn Taghrī Bardī (1410-1470) was raised in Cairo where he had access to many literary and historical texts. Having mastered Arabic, he embarked on the task of compiling as complete a record as possible of Egyptian history, concentrating on the period from the Islamic conquest until his own time. He wrote seven encyclopedic works, each composed of several volumes, all dedicated to the history of Egypt. Chief of these works are *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, which has seven volumes that cover the history of Egypt from 640 to 1468, and *Ḥawādith ad-Duhūr fī Madā* [not *Maḍā*] *l'Ayyam wash-Shuhūr*, which he wanted to be a continuation of al-Maqrīzī's (his mentor) *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, and which he designed to be almost a day-by-day chronicle of Egypt from 1441 to 1460.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Popper (1874-1963) was the son of a Confederate soldier. Having mastered Arabic and other Semitic languages, he devoted much of his academic life to the history of Egypt as recorded by Ibn Taghrī Bardī. He patiently went through the tedious task of carefully examining the available manuscripts of *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* and undertook a critical edition of it, a giant task that ordinarily would have required the cooperation of several scholars. Most of the edited portion of *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, especially those portions dealing with Egypt under the Mamluks, has been published in five volumes in the "University of California Publications in Semitic Philology." He then turned to Ibn Taghrī Bardī's manuscript of *Ḥawādith ad-Duhūr*, edited most of it, and published what he edited in the same series of publications in Volume VIII. He then embarked on a gigantic project of translating most of what he had already edited and published in Arabic. The first translation was concerned with Ibn Taghrī Bardī's *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira* and dealt with the history of Egypt under the Mamluks from 1382 to 1468. This translation was masterfully accomplished and published in seven additional volumes in the "University of California Publications in Semitic Philology." As if such a gigantic effort of editing and translation were not enough, Popper embarked on the translation of *Ḥawādith ad-Duhūr*, Ibn Taghrī Bardī's chronicle of Egypt from 1441 to 1460. He completed portions of this chronicle from 1441 to 1450, but death cut his work short in 1963.

The value of Ibn Taghrī Bardī's annals does not simply lie in their being an eyewitness record of history but also in the social and economic statistics they referred to and the details of everyday life they included. In other words, these annals include not only an account of what the rulers and army commanders did but also accounts of the actions and reactions of the common man. In the book

reviewed here there are numerous references to such important local events as the Arab uprisings against the Mamluks, the Mamluk abuses of the common people and the latter's disgust, and other matters.

Perhaps among the most important features of this chronicle are its detailed account of the human loss resulting from the plague, the systematic registry of the rise of the Nile, and the resulting fluctuation in prices and currency values. Furthermore, being himself an eyewitness to what he recorded, Ibn Taghrī Bardī did not fail to record events of special interest such as an instance of a dicephalic birth, eclipses of the sun and moon, and a royal wedding.

Unfortunately, however, this translation covers only 85 of a total of 394 pages of source materials valuable to historians, economists, and sociologists alike. Let us hope that the rest of these annals will find the light of translation and publication sometime soon.

Harvard University

WILSON B. BISHAI

BURDEN OF EMPIRE: AN APPRAISAL OF WESTERN COLONIALISM IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. By *L. H. Gann* and *Peter Duignan*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. 1967. Pp. xii, 435. \$8.50.)

THIS important book will delight some and infuriate others. Its readers may not believe all the authors have to say, but they certainly cannot ignore their message. *Burden of Empire* will remain a challenging and provocative work long after its excesses have been forgiven as special pleading to buttress sound argument. Specifically, the authors attack the historical interpretation that has gained great influence if not acceptance that imperialism in Africa "arose from the inner needs of an overripe capitalist system" for monopoly markets and investment. Therefore, the "whites conquered Africa" but "under the imperial aegis Africa remained poor," its economy distorted and stagnant, and African living standards stationary or in decline. Exploiting the Africans and the natural wealth of the continent, Western nations acquired not only capital but present-day prosperity, while the Africans were pushed backward until the victorious revolution against their white oppressors achieved political liberation to be followed by the greater revolution against the present economic and cultural vestiges of Western colonialism.

The authors wisely launch their well-coordinated assault first against the theories of imperialism, particularly Marx, Hobson, Lenin, and their modern derivatives among the Pan-Africanists and the proponents of *negritude*. These chapters themselves are more African vignettes of the intellectual history of imperialism than original contributions to the critiques of Socialist theories of empire. Although such theories may "continue to shape the climate of opinion to this day," to most Africanists outside the Communist world the imperial hypotheses of Marx, Hobson, and Lenin have little reality for Africa past or present. Their impact on Pan-Africanists and the advocates of *negritude* continues to be more pervasive than profound, slogans whose appeals have frequently obscured their intellectual contradictions. Having ripped to shreds the threadbare economic interpretations of European imperialism in Africa, the authors settle down to unravel the reality from the romance of the African past.

Methodically, chapter by chapter, the authors relentlessly disentangle colonial

Africa. Only the toughest *bwana* will be able to maintain the pace without frequent pause to protest excessive zeal or extravagant evidence. Their criticisms of oral tradition will be timely if unpopular and much too severe for all except archivists like the authors themselves. Although they are quite right to take Professor Curtin to task for his relativism (*African History* [1964]), they overlook the very purpose of his pamphlet. To enumerate the numerous deficiencies in precolonial African society with but scant attention to its advantages is not really necessary to a positive appreciation of European imperialism in Africa. The romantic evils of the African past can be purged as much by recognizing the real contributions of African societies as their failures. Similarly, one cannot agree with the conclusion that the "partition [of Africa] had its origins in the weakness of most African political systems." Surely the proposition must be reversed, for it was the economic strength of the West and the superiority of its technology that enabled Europe to conquer Africa. Against this superiority the African struggle during a long and quite bloody period of pacification is dismissed by stimulating if not particularly germane comparisons.

The book concludes with a final section on decolonization in which "the imperial system stands out as one of the most powerful engines for cultural diffusion in the history of Africa; its credit balance by far outweighs its debit account." Despite the authors' overstatement of their case and the overabundance of Rhodesian examples, most historians of Africa would agree, and those who do not will be hard pressed to match the authors' erudition, perception, and stimulating exposition in seeking to refute their verdict.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ROBERT O. COLLINS

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN AFRICAN THOUGHT: ITS DEVELOPMENT IN WEST AFRICA DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. By *Robert W. July*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967. Pp. 512. \$10.00.)

ONE by-product of Western cultural arrogance was the profound impression held by an earlier generation of historians that Europeans were the only important actors in the conquest and modernization of colonial Africa. This impression has been largely corrected by the historiography of the past two decades. Professor July, however, goes a step beyond the political response to examine the African intellectual response to the West.

African writing in Western languages began to appear in the eighteenth century, and it flourished up and down the coast of West Africa even before the colonial period had begun in most of that area. The small commercial centers of Senegal, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos were points of contact where Western-educated Africans often played significant roles in the affairs of the European posts and colonies. These men and their writings are the subject of July's book, the title of which has to be understood in this restrictive sense. It is not about African thought in general, only that of a tiny minority of Africans and Afro-Americans caught up in the European advance as agents or advocates of modernization. The preface recognizes this fact, though the text at other points slips in implying that these men were more representative than they actually were.

The work is a group biography as well as a history of thought. It is not confined to ideas or isolated from the world of events. Nor is it limited to major figures like E. W. Blyden, Samuel Adjai Crowther, Herbert Macaulay, Blaise Diagne, or Leopold Senghor. These men have already been the subjects of much historical writing, and each will sooner or later have his full-scale biography. Here, they are joined by less well-known figures who were more nearly men of action than of letters—William Grant, the Freetown merchant; George W. Johnson, the modernizing political leader of Abeokuta; J. J. Crespin, the Senegalese lawyer and journalist; and many others whose reactions to the West have been disentangled from correspondence and pamphlets rather than book-length studies or theoretical treatises. One of the principal virtues of the work is the way in which the reactions and implied reactions of thirty or more individual Africans are skillfully interwoven with the main lines of political and social change in the Afro-European communities scattered along the West African coast from Saint-Louis to Calabar.

With so many individuals on stage, it is hardly likely that July will have the last word about any one of them. Many of his interpretations will be contested in detail, though this is inevitable and hardly detracts from the contribution of his synthesis. Again, the work is somewhat short on analysis of the ideas themselves, but this follows from the author's legitimate decision to deal one by one with an individual or a small group, their ideas, and their social and political setting. If this choice forecloses the possibility of detailed comparative analysis, it nevertheless results in an interesting and highly readable book, open to a broad audience.

University of Wisconsin

PHILIP D. CURTIN

POLITICS IN WEST AFRICA. By *W. Arthur Lewis*. [The Whidden Lectures for 1965.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 90. \$3.50.)

IN these sharp thoughts made public about a year before Nkrumah's fall, Professor Lewis argues forcefully against "bogus explanations" inside and outside Africa concerning the problems of African government. He directs his main thrust at the thesis that one-party states are both a natural outcome of the circumstances of political growth in West Africa and a necessary condition for the further development of these states. In the process, the author exposes the flaws of African politicians and administers a sound drubbing to political scientists and other African specialists who "hesitate to speak out for fear of offending those now in power." But this work is not merely a critique of politicians and scholars. Indeed, Lewis' most original contribution is an essay that takes up the last third of the book and deals with the question of designing democratic institutions in "the plural society."

The first two chapters, which review the origins of one-party states and the justifications advanced on behalf of these regimes, constitute a commentary on contemporary West African history rather than on history itself. In particular, the author brilliantly punctures such arguments as that one-party states are needed to coerce an unwilling population into becoming more modern; these states are necessary to ensure the maintenance of sovereignty; they alone can ensure the

survival of the "center"; and, finally, they are a source of political stability. Having disposed of these arguments, Lewis then turns courageously to prescription: what is to be done?

The answer, as presented here, is quite simple. Since the majority-opposition version of democracy was developed within the context of class societies, it is not surprising that this version is unsuitable for societies that are not class societies, but rather "plural societies" that consist of many distinct communities. In other words, the problem is not the distribution of benefits on the basis of a zero-sum game, for which political parties are well-suited players. Instead, the plural society requires that all important groups be permanently represented in government. This can only be achieved by a permanent but shifting coalition that Lewis argues could result from replacing simple plurality electoral arrangements with proportional representation. This answer is weak, I believe, for two reasons. One is provided by Lewis himself when he suggests that any institutional solution can be effective only if Africans acquire sufficient faith in the effectiveness of democracy. The other reason, paradoxically, is that beneath the surface many of the systems under consideration already are coalitions of the sort Lewis advocates. This book does, nevertheless, cut through much of the fog that had settled on discussions of African politics, and it provides a point of departure for possible institutional innovations.

University of Chicago

ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG

KOLONIALHERRSCHAFT UND SOZIALSTRUKTUR IN DEUTSCH-SÜDWESTAFRIKA, 1894-1914. By *Helmut Bley*. [Hamburger Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 5.] ([Hamburg:] Leibniz-Verlag. 1968. Pp. 390. DM 32.)

THE Versailles settlement after the First World War led to a long and bitter dispute concerning Germany's colonial record. According to the victors, Germans were unfit to rule backward races; Britons and Frenchmen made better colonizers. German colonial enthusiasts in turn defended their country and denounced what they called *die Kolonialschuldfrage*. After the Second World War, historians resumed the old battle in a new form. They were no longer concerned so much with the peculiar evils of German colonialism as such. They rather questioned the legacy of European imperialism as a whole and often considered the iniquities of German rule in Africa as just one particular phase within a wider movement.

The bloodstained history of Southwest Africa occasioned an unusual amount of debate. Oskar Hintrager, a retired German deputy governor, stated the colonizer's case. Horst Drechsler approached the question from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Bley's study is more influenced by the sociopsychological theories of Fanon and Mannoni; indeed, the author believes that his findings will extend the work done by these writers. Bley not only castigates Germany's colonial atrocities, racist theories, and segregationist practices; he also holds that German governance in Southwest Africa had some modern totalitarian features and that German colonialism in turn helped to poison the political climate at home.

Bley does not exaggerate when he describes the horrors of German "pacification" or when he points out the numerous evils that beset their system. His research is thorough and based on an impressive amount of archival evidence. In my opinion, however, Bley underestimates the importance of the colonial reforms introduced toward the end of the German era. He also gives insufficient credit to Germany's economic achievements which in turn profoundly influenced Southwest Africa's social structure. Between 1908 and 1914, for instance, the territory's exports rose in value from less than eight million to more than seventy million marks. The Germans developed fairly extensive agricultural and mining industries. By 1914 even industrialization had begun on a small scale, and some local factories even manufactured machines of varying kinds. As Dernburg and other colonial reformers realized, the old-fashioned methods of pure coercion ceased to be profitable. There were considerable social changes within the colonial ruling strata themselves, and even the indigenous people benefited to some extent.

The author's interpretation can also be criticized on other grounds. German methods of initial repression were bloody enough. By about 1910, however, German influence no longer rested on sheer force alone. In 1910 the colony's entire military and constabulary establishment amounted to only 2,800 men. These small, scattered units had to control and defend a territory more than six times the size of England. Modern totalitarian governments require a state machinery that differs both quantitatively and qualitatively from the forces available to the Germans in Southwest Africa at the time. While recognizing the merits of Bley's work, I still cannot share his more general interpretation.

Hoover Institution

LEWIS H. GANN

Asia and the East

HISTOIRE ET INSTITUTIONS DE LA CHINE ANCIENNE: DES ORIGINES AU XII^e SIÈCLE APRÈS J.-C. By *Henri Maspero* and *Étienne Balazs*. Text revised by *Paul Demiéville*. [Ministère d'État, Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études, Number 73.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. viii, 322. 32 fr.)

THE first part of this work was prepared by Henri Maspero (1883-1945) as a contribution to the *Histoire Generale* founded by Gustave Glotz. After Maspero's death, the draft was taken in hand by Étienne Balazs (1905-1963) who wrote the succeeding parts, through the fall of the Northern Sung, during the period 1948-1953, when he turned to other scholarly work. After Balazs' death, the uncompleted work of his two colleagues was prepared for publication by Paul Demiéville.

This volume, then, is the work of two of the most creative historians of China to work in the twentieth century, and it was put in publishable form by the esteemed dean of Chinese studies in the West. The volume begins with three chapters left in draft form by Maspero: one on the earliest stage of Chinese social life, which he entitles "La Société seigneuriale," one on the period of the Warring States and the transition to united empire, and one on the empires of Ch'in and Han (221 B.C.-A.D. 220). These chapters draw heavily on Maspero's

other writings on ancient China, particularly on *La Chine Antique* (1927; new ed., 1956). Much that is said in these chapters would now be modified by newer findings, especially in the field of archaeology. They are so compressed that they scarcely reflect Maspero's encyclopedic knowledge of the period. Yet they are, at the same time, models of clear exposition where sparse and apt quotation of sources is used with effect in a lapidary and fast-moving prose. They are, like Maspero's more extensive writings, filled with arresting insights.

Balazs had originally intended to carry the story of China's institutional development from the fall of the Han to the fourteenth century, but he completed the account only to the fall of the Northern Sung in 1126. These chapters constitute the best and most coherent account of Chinese social and economic history during these nine centuries. The emphasis is on social structure, on critical changes in administrative and fiscal policies, and on the organization of economic life. Here we find the themes that Balazs developed in his other work: the pervasive and often destructive authority of the ruling elite, the unequal yet continuous struggle between the peasantry and the power of the state and its elite, the repeated efforts of merchants and industrialists to escape the bonds that the traditional order imposed upon them. The whole is pervaded by the mordant and skeptical spirit of Balazs, which had little sympathy for the mythology and moral formalism in which the scholar-official class cloaked its power.

In these chapters, as in those of Maspero, subsequent scholarship has illuminated many of the problems discussed. Professor Twitchett's work on the T'ang financial system, for example, would compel the modification of much that is said here, and Professor Gung-wu Wang's study of the structure of power in the Five Dynasties puts that period in a new and different perspective. Indeed, the writings of Balazs during the last decade of his life produced further insights that would have produced rather different shadings and emphases. Yet this remains a remarkably coherent account of the institutions of a long and complex period. No one interested in Chinese history can afford to ignore it.

Demiéville's unobtrusive notes add a discriminating selection of references to subsequent scholarship on the many problems discussed. They provide, as a whole, a kind of conspectus of the progress of Chinese studies in the last fifteen years and a most useful guide to students and interested laymen.

Yale University

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

TRADITIONAL MEDICINE IN MODERN CHINA: SCIENCE, NATIONALISM, AND THE TENSIONS OF CULTURAL CHANGE. By *Ralph C. Croizier*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 34.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 325. \$6.00.)

THIS study of traditional medicine in China is essentially an investigation in intellectual history. The author is not concerned with actual medical questions; instead, the book is a case history in which the fate of traditional medicine is examined to see what can be learned about modern Chinese thinking, or, "more specifically, about attitudes towards science, progress, modernity, traditional authority, and cultural nationalism." Medicine is particularly interesting in this connection because, unlike other areas of science and technical knowledge in which concepts and practices have been accepted without opposition, medical

practice has remained an arena in which the role of modern medicine has been actively contested by those who defend the validity and utility of the traditional medical system.

After stating the problem, Croizier describes the traditional medical system and the introduction of Western medicine during the nineteenth century, chiefly by missionaries. Indeed, the clash between ancient Chinese medicine and modern scientific medicine appeared shortly after the latter was introduced into China. During a period covering more than seventy years this struggle passed through several stages. At first reformers concerned with health problems focused on the inadequacies of the traditional system with respect to public health. Then, traditional medicine was repudiated as part of the Confucian culture in favor of science and modernity. Yet, at the same time, there were those who defended traditional medicine as part of an endeavor to save Chinese culture from being submerged and annihilated by excessive acculturation. This attempt to incorporate modern science into a reformed Chinese medicine has been the official Communist policy since about 1954. The author traces these shifting positions under the Kuomintang and then under the Communists, and the related sociopolitical implications.

This very useful study has much to recommend it. Because of the author's focus on cultural tensions, however, he tends to underestimate the very practical problem of medical shortages and providing medical services with inadequate numbers of modern physicians. Indeed, his very conclusion that traditional medicine will not be decisive in shaping modern China's medical history indicates that Communist support of the traditional system may in large measure be a party line required by a current situation. The author is also aware that other developing countries such as India have similar problems, but this comparative aspect is barely mentioned. One may suggest that it would have been useful from a sociopolitical viewpoint to compare the Chinese situation with that in Germany under National Socialism where the value of modern scientific medicine, so-called academic medicine, was contested by *Naturheilkunde* in its various forms and received active support from the regime. Are there similar elements in such situations?

This stimulating investigation is certainly worth reading.

Columbia University

GEORGE ROSEN

JOHN FRYER: THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY INTO NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHINA. By *Adrian Arthur Bennett*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 24.] ([Cambridge, Mass.:] East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1967. Pp. xii, 157. \$3.25.)

JOHN Fryer was Louis Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1896 to 1913. Prior to his American career he had lived for thirty-five years in China of which twenty-eight, from 1868 to 1896, were spent as an English-Chinese translator of scientific and technical books at the Chinese government's Kiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai. Fryer also edited *Ko-chih hui-pien* [The Chinese Scientific Magazine], was secretary to the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute, served as general editor of a series of Chinese-language science textbooks for use in missionary schools, and founded a non-

profit book service to promote the distribution of translations and original Chinese works. From Fryer's letters and papers and the collection of his translations in the Berkeley library, Mr. Bennett has produced a brief account of Fryer's life and activities in China together with commentary on his role in introducing modern Western science and technology into late Ch'ing China.

Fryer published, as Bennett indicates, at least 129 translations between 1871 and 1909. Some of these were excerpts compiled in the form of handbooks or outlines for beginning students. But most, to judge from the useful list of Fryer's publications in Appendix II, were Chinese-language versions of up-to-date British and American treatises in the most important fields of science and technology. With a few exceptions indicating that some titles sold as many as one thousand copies, Bennett has not been able to determine the extent to which the translations were circulated and read. He does indicate, however, that the reformer K'ang Yu-wei purchased and read Fryer's books and that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao recommended them strongly. Apart from these sparse clues and the physical existence of the works themselves, it remains difficult to say whether or not Fryer's lifework had any significant impact. One possible approach, which is beyond the scope of Bennett's monograph, would be a comparison of the technical vocabulary used by Fryer and that in later Chinese-language scientific and technical works. Perhaps, too, some indication of the textbooks used in such early technical schools as Nanyang College might be unearthed. Or is it possible that the first Chinese generation upon whom Western science and technology made any real impact acquired its smattering of learning in "quickie schools" in Japan or, by diligent application, directly from the English-language originals?

University of Michigan

A. FEUERWERKER

THE CRIMINAL PROCESS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1949-1963: AN INTRODUCTION. By *Jerome Alan Cohen*. [Harvard Studies in East Asian Law, Number 2.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 706. \$15.00.)

"*Izvestia*, the official newspaper of the Soviet government, has heaped scorn on the post-1957 Chinese system of administering justice as a mockery of socialist legality. American cold war rhetoric has long proclaimed the lawlessness of Chinese Communist rule. What conclusion should be reached by a detached evaluation?"

Professor Cohen's monumental and pioneering study provides a large body of well-chosen, well-organized material intended primarily to help students of Chinese law find answers to the multitude of lesser questions on which the answer to the major question must depend. It is equally useful to historians of China since 1949. Part I, the author's excellent introduction, surveys the ramifications of Chinese criminal law today in the context of contemporary Chinese society as a whole and in comparison with traditional Chinese, Western, and Soviet concepts and practices. Part II, "Materials," is divided into eleven topical chapters beginning with the basic ideas behind Chinese criminal law and ranging from informal pretrial adjustment to the relocation in society of the convicted criminal who has served his sentence. The structure of law enforcement agencies is clearly described and illustrated with simple diagrams.

The topical chapters include introductory statements by Cohen, excerpts from perceptive outside commentaries, eyewitness accounts of trial proceedings, interviews with refugees, and translations from the Chinese press reports of trials. These probes into Chinese daily life under Communism have the vividness and immediacy of reports by good anthropologists or novelists. Neither the terminology nor the line of reasoning is forbidding to nonlawyers.

The author is cautious about definitive statements, but a number of general points important to historians emerge. The judicial system is not arbitrary. There is a comprehensive network of agencies with prescribed procedures. Although the constitutional separation of powers among police, procuracy, and courts is a fiction since they are constituent units of a single structure, in operation the three agencies do serve to check each other. On the other hand, the absence of a code and of published rules, except for minor offenses, forces law enforcement officials to rely on general pronouncements of the state and party that are often contradictory on basic questions. The state reaches deep into local and personal life. Its hierarchical apparatus suggests that it intends to curb on-the-spot law enforcement by cadres at the working level; at the same time it emphasizes the importance of flexibility and of attention to local and individual circumstances. Well-selected cases illustrate these problems in action, and the related problems of speed, efficiency, and zeal toward what the regime considers substantial justice as opposed to reliability through slow procedures to protect the accused. The regime must walk a narrow line by appearing always fair and yet in the end infallible. Cohen has made a heroic, and I think successful, effort to present a fair sampling of cases and to indicate important changes in trend over the past twenty years.

Although he is careful to point out the differences, the author finds the major source of contemporary criminal law to be traditional criminal law, with its insistence on the preponderance of the interests of the state over the interests of the individual and a basic distrust of legal hairsplitting. A second major source is of course Soviet law, but Cohen considers it misleading to call the post-1957 criminal process in China "quasi-Stalinist"; there has been little use of the criminal process as terror to silence dissent and greater use of persuasion and social pressure to enlist support. At the same time, Chinese legal procedures in nonpolitical cases have afforded the accused less protection of a Western type than Soviet law provided even before 1956.

The reader may conclude that both Soviet and American rhetoric have missed the main points of contemporary Chinese criminal law because both in their ways have failed to examine it in the light of Chinese social history.

Yale University

MARY CLABAUGH WRIGHT

POLITICS IN THE TOKUGAWA BAKUFU, 1600-1843. By *Conrad D. Totman*. [Harvard East Asia Series, Number 30.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. 346. \$9.50.)

TOKUGAWA government is a much-neglected subject among Japanese historians, and it is all but ignored among Western writers. The range of problems it presents and the documentation it has left are comparable to those of the French government in the two centuries before the Revolution. Yet this is the first satis-

fully full account of the Tokugawa central government, or *Bakufu*, in any Western language and the first attempt by a Western historian to analyze its structure in any depth.

The reasons for this neglect have recently been disappearing. Japanese scholars, whose monographic and editorial labors are powerful aids to foreign students, are turning increasing attention to the subject. And the conviction that modern Japan began in 1868, or 1853 at the earliest, has swung almost to the other extreme, that everything goes back to the Tokugawa period. Admittedly there was much that adumbrated modern Japan in that society—adult literacy that may have run as high as 40 per cent, large and numerous cities, a thriving internal trade, well-developed handicraft industries, a specialized and expert bureaucracy. There is also, I would guess, a dawning awareness of the rich comparative possibilities of Tokugawa government. As an example, venality of office was common, legal, and legitimate nearly everywhere in eighteenth-century Europe but rare and absolutely reprehensible in Japan. There is surely a great deal to be learned on both sides of this surprising difference in the concepts of public and private.

Parts of Mr. Totman's picture of the *Bakufu* are familiar, parts quite new. There is no comparable description of the organization of the gigantic Chiyoda castle and its relation to administration and politics, nor any previous analysis of what the author calls the "vertical clique." This was the omnipresent group of officials at different levels of government held together by personal connections and common ends and beliefs. In this society in which government and administration were one, cliques had a function not unlike political parties in representative governments. They were the primary form of political competition and the chief means of formulating, carrying into effect, and changing policies, and they gave Tokugawa government a resilience, resourcefulness, and longevity that its rigid formal features do not suggest.

The author rightly gives much attention to the machinery of government, and the novice such as myself will thank him for this. But he does not neglect dynamic aspects of the subject either, a point where earlier accounts are especially weak. Two chapters trace the evolution of the *Bakufu* from a small fifteenth-century fief into the complex national government it became in the seventeenth century; the topical chapters that follow, on military and financial organization, *daimyo* and *hatamoto*, all trace their special subjects through the major changes they underwent between 1600 and the early nineteenth century. Along the way, the author has interesting things to say on such subjects as the bureaucratization of government, ideology, and the changing locus of power in the *Bakufu*. In short, Totman has written a much-needed book. But the subject and documentation are vast, and he would be the last to claim that he has more than opened up the subject for Western scholars.

Stanford University

THOMAS C. SMITH

CAPITALISM AND NATIONALISM IN PREWAR JAPAN: THE IDEOLOGY OF THE BUSINESS ELITE, 1868-1941. By Bryon K. Marshall. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 163. \$5.75.)

EVER since Thorstein Veblen argued that certain traditional patterns of social behavior were facilitating the industrialization of Japan, scholars have added,

through special studies in different areas, further discredit to the view that ancient ways must be destroyed if a nation is to modernize itself. Now Professor Marshall's well-documented book reveals that the very engineers of Japan's modernization, the business elite, consistently justified their endeavors in terms of an ideology that had a traditional ring. Without expressing beliefs or ideas that would directly sanction the accumulation of capital, they claimed, even when building powerful monopolies, that they were serving the state. One of the most prominent Meiji businessmen, Shibusawa Eichi, once stated: "Never for a moment, did I aim at my own profit."

The ancient samurai ideal of devoted service to the group—first to the han and later to the state—was paralleled by the view that a merchant did not rank high in the social order, simply because his activities were motivated by self-interest. Under the influence of such traditional ideas, the post-Meiji businessman (often a former samurai who received financial support from the state) tried to do business in the samurai manner: to make money as a devoted servant of the state. In times of national crisis, such as during World War II, the reactions of most people were dictated by the requirements of this samurai ideal. The public condemned the *zaibatsu* for their preoccupation with profit, and the businessmen redoubled their efforts to show that they were really dedicated to the welfare of the nation.

The justification of profit making in terms of public service colored Japanese ideas about employer-employee relations and labor union activity. Almost everyone felt that the worker, as well as his employer, should assign high priority to his obligations to support the state. Many argued that Japan need not worry about conflict between management and labor since both were bound together in a common cause. Under the influence of such thought, employers developed new ways of expressing a paternalistic concern for their employees, and labor union leaders found it difficult to gain popular support for organized demands that wages be raised or working conditions improved. Thus the labor movement developed slowly and still has an enterprise-centered character.

In addressing himself to the question of why the Japanese business ideology was so different from what is found in capitalistic countries of the West, Marshall stresses what Rostow has called "reactive nationalism." A convincing case is made for the view that a fear of further foreign encroachment caused Japanese leaders to scorn laissez-faire economics and to insist that the old samurai ethics were appropriate to the task of building a strong and rich modern state. But the author seems to feel that the emergence of such a business ideology was unfortunate. He agrees, for example, with Professor Scalapino's point that the lack of sanctions for political action in support of self-interest was a factor in the failure of parliamentary democracy. But is it possible for a late developing country to achieve modernization without the benefit of ideas and beliefs that impel its people to work together, at some personal sacrifice, for a common objective?

University of California, Berkeley

DELMER M. BROWN

ASIAN DRAMA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE POVERTY OF NATIONS. In three volumes. By Gunnar Myrdal. [Twentieth Century Fund Study.] (New York: Pantheon. 1968. Pp. xxx, 705; xvi, 707-1530; xvii, 1531-2284. \$8.50 the set.)

THE impact of this enormous, scholarly, and outspoken work will, perhaps slowly but certainly, make itself felt on all succeeding studies of social and economic development in South and Southeast Asia. That it will excite anything beyond a possibly less than polite acknowledgment from the ruling elites of these areas is more problematical. While Professor Myrdal does not discount the value of capital flows and technical assistance from the industrialized countries, his theoretical and empirical analysis finds that the solution to the "poverty of nations" requires first and above all else radical changes in the social and economic institutions and attitudes of the South and Southeast Asian countries themselves. In practice, this requires the small, privileged elite who exercise political and economic control to institute sweeping land reforms in order to encourage the peasantry to increase production, to overhaul top-heavy and wasteful educational systems that produce annual oversupplies of "generalists" like the elites themselves, and to have the political courage and skill to institute large-scale public birth control programs. A better recipe for undermining the social basis of elite rule itself would be difficult to prescribe.

Asian Drama is the product of ten years of study by Myrdal and an international team of economic specialists. While the problems and prospects of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and, to a lesser extent, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia are treated, inevitably the work focuses most closely on India, the largest country and probably the most critical case for the future of economic development under nontotalitarian auspices. Volume I is devoted to an examination of the recent history of these countries and to an analysis of their present economic condition (population, resources, national output, economic structure, income distribution, relations with the world economy). Thus a political-sociological-economic framework is provided within which Volume II and part of Volume III explore the principal obstacles to economic progress. Myrdal's treatment of the realities of planning in India and elsewhere, of the problems of labor utilization, and of the questions of population size and quality is frank, sometimes ruthlessly honest, based on a meticulous examination of vast quantities of data, and given point by explicit policy recommendations. Much of Volume III consists of sixteen appendixes on such topics as "Economic Models and Their Usefulness for Planning in South Asia," "Estimation of Over-All Income Inequality," and "A Critical Appraisal of the Concept and Theory of Underemployment." These provide theoretical support for the argumentation in the main body of the work.

As a title, *Asian Drama* is possibly misleading. I originally agreed to review Myrdal's book for the *AHR* in the mistaken belief that an examination of the causes and possible cures for the poverty of the nations of South and Southeast Asia would inevitably require comprehensive comparison with the experience since 1949 of that other great developing nation of Asia. While China is considered in passing at several points, no systematic attempt to assess the possible

relevance of its development, successes, and failures is undertaken. If there is a lacuna in this monumental work, it is certainly this.

University of Michigan

A. FEUERWERKER

SOUNDINGS IN MODERN SOUTH ASIAN HISTORY. Edited by *D. A. Low*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 391. \$8.75.)

PROFESSOR Low has taken his "soundings" for this stimulating anthology of recent Indian history from the labors of eight South Asian scholars (including himself), who worked at the Australian National University for some period since 1960. In his excellent introductory chapter Low stresses the value of regional studies within the Indian "sub-continent," thus justifying the "provincial" focus of most of the eleven essays in this "series of explorations," but he does not forget the importance of "issues of all-Indian significance" and includes four such studies among his selections. Naturally, these soundings differ in depth of insight and historical sophistication, but each helps us better to appreciate the complexity of Indian history.

Low's introductory probe into the cultural history of Uttar Pradesh raises some fascinating questions about the changing character of that region and the historic reasons behind the fundamental transition in values and shift in social forces that occurred between 1857 and the 1920's. The editor includes another essay of his own, "Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the First Round-Table Conference," which analyzes the influence exerted upon government by India's great Liberal leader and helps "remind ourselves" that "individuals" as well as "communities," "castes," and "elite" groups continue to play a consequential role in history. Dr. B. D. Graham's elegant essay on "Syama Prasad Mookerjee and the Communalist Alternative" considers the impact of an Indian political leader from the opposite end of the spectrum of recent Indian politics. Mookerjee is revealed as a most intriguing person and, as Graham concludes, "an enigma," who "appealed powerfully to the darker strain in the political life of his countrymen."

Most of the essays in this book are apparently drawn from or based upon longer studies, usually dissertations completed at Canberra, and some still bear the scars of their origins. Dr. Ravinder Kumar has two essays dealing with Maharashtra under British rule: "The Rise of the Rich Peasants in Western India" and "The New Brahmins of Maharashtra." In the first he views the "widening gulf" between western India's peasant majority and the relatively few "rich cultivators" as "one of the most important consequences of British rule." Dr. P. H. M. van den Dungen's essay, entitled "Changes in Status and Occupation in Nineteenth-Century Panjab," tackles a similar problem of agrarian social history for his northern region, but here the author sees "indigenous social factors" as the primary cause of change. Dr. P. D. Reeves offers us his insights into the complex subject of agrarian politics in still another region with a study of "Landlords and Party Politics in the United Provinces, 1934-7." Professor J. H. Broomfield has written two essays on Bengal, both of them quite illuminating:

"The Forgotten Majority: The Bengal Muslims and September 1918" and "The Non-Cooperation Decision of 1920: A Crisis in Bengal Politics." Dr. Dietmar Rothermund's essay on "Emancipation or Re-Integration: The Politics of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Herbert Hope Risley" unfortunately suffers from the simplistic premise that Risley represented "British administrators" of his time, rather than merely one school, the imperialist bureaucrats. Professor H. F. Owen has contributed a very interesting chapter, "Towards Nation-Wide Agitation and Organisation: The Home Rule Leagues, 1915-18," which offers us new insights into the political development of Annie Besant.

University of California, Los Angeles

STANLEY WOLPERT

AFGHANISTAN, 1900-1923: A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. By *Ludwig W. Adamec*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 245. \$7.00.)

THIS welcome and competent monograph is primarily concerned with British-Indian relations with Afghanistan in the period of formation of the present Afghan state. Presumably it is a pendant to the as yet unpublished doctoral thesis of Vartan Gregorian on "The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan" covering internal affairs during the same period. Consequently many questions raised by Adamec's book may be answered in Gregorian's, including the reasons for the exile of Mahmud Tarzi and Afghan relations with Enver Pasha, the Pan-Turanist, as well as with Pan-Islamists.

The author makes good use of the India Office and National Indian Archives, the primary sources for the investigation. Since comparable Afghan sources are not available, unused private sources in Kabul, oral more than written, might have provided new views on several topics. For example, I lived in Kabul for more than two years and heard different accounts of Abdur Rahman's relations with the religious establishment than that "he broke the power of the ulema. . ." but "the mullahs . . . were a force the amir could not ignore." This, of course, is not diplomatic history, and Afghan sources are difficult to find. An Afghan history on the same subject would be quite different from the present work.

There is some repetition, with the same ideas in different words, but the monograph shows the origin of the isolationism and distrust of European powers so characteristic of Afghanistan until recent years. More such monographs are needed before the modern histories of little-known states in Asia can be interpreted.

Harvard University

RICHARD N. FRYE

THE RIVERINA, 1861-1891: AN AUSTRALIAN REGIONAL STUDY. By *G. L. Buxton*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 338. \$13.50.)

AUSTRALIA is now publishing an increasing number of excellent regional histories whose findings will force a rewriting of general Australian history. Dr. Buxton's study of the Riverina district, the flat inland plain lying in the southern and western section of present-day New South Wales, is one of the best. His aim,

while tracing the implementation of the 1861 land legislation embodying free selection before survey, is to sketch in detail a picture of a changing society between 1861 and 1891. He admits posing more questions than he answers, and he suggests future use of some relatively untouched source material. His exploitation of such local newspaper sources as the Deniliquin *Pastoral Times* is brilliant. There are, unfortunately, few personal papers or diaries in this period. The effectiveness of the first part of a three-part book is enhanced by extensive use of quotations as he describes the pastoral industry, the growth and functions of towns, and Riverina's society of 1861. Part II outlines the aims and operations of Robertson's Acts, and here the author makes remarkably intelligent and discerning use of the Conditional Purchase Registers, stored in the land offices or courthouses in Wagga, Albury, Hay, Deniliquin, Narrandera, Corowa, and Urana. Part III describes the Riverina of 1891, "looking at the pastoral industry, agriculture, towns and finally the changed society as reflected in the elections of that year."

Buxton's book corrects many former facts and assumptions. Selection did not immediately follow the 1861 Robertson Land Act. The real conflict of squatter versus selector came after mechanization and railway building ended the usual obstacles to agriculture in the 1880's. Fencing was not due to labor shortages caused by the gold rush, but was, rather, a response to the rising meat market; thus, at first, "pastoral industry" did not mean the "sheep industry," but rather that cattle were more important to feed a much-increased population in the colony of Victoria. The pleuropneumonia problem was a blight on the cattle industry. Towns, usually founded on river crossings, were important as rallying places for continuous expansion down the watercourses. Dam cutting was an effective response to a water-selfish settler upstream. On a population basis, the most highly industrialized town in the Riverina in 1891 was Narrandera, which boasted six sawmills!

The author gives a good picture of rural Australia, replete with many superb demographic tables and graphs and some well-selected pictures, photographs, and maps. Unfortunately the frontier thesis is not applied anywhere. The index is poor, and the very fine footnotes, which are mines of information, are tucked away at the back of the book in double columns.

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

THEY CAME FOR SANDALWOOD: A STUDY OF THE SANDALWOOD TRADE IN THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC, 1830-1865. By *Dorothy Shineberg*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 299. \$13.50.)

Dr. Shineberg's story of the trade in sandalwood from the Melanesian Islands to China is well written after an exhaustive search of scattered sources ranging from official reports to newspapers, ships' logs, private papers, and a surprising number of published books and articles.

The trade began after more accessible supplies of sandalwood from Hawaii and Fiji were eliminated. In 1784 the British duties on tea were sharply lowered, and the demand for tea increased greatly. China was virtually the sole source of

supply, but it was difficult to sell foreign goods in the Chinese market. Since the Australian demand for tea was intense, it was necessary to find some acceptable means of payment to relieve the shortage of specie.

The sandalwood trees were scattered. When they were cut, they had to be stripped to uncover the core that yielded the fragrant oil used for incense. It was a hazardous trade, conducted by adventurers in small, often old ships. The islanders were hostile since these were their first contacts with the outside world. They were tempted to acquire iron and later tomahawks rather than beads or cloth. From the late 1820's to 1965, the trade proceeded spasmodically, with many outrages and casualties on both sides.

Shineberg reinterprets the complex causes of these episodes. Missionary condemnation of the motives, behavior, and morals of the traders has cast the blame almost entirely on them. Many of the traders were ruthless, greedy, and quick on the trigger, but this is not the whole story. The trade was a gamble, and the best of the traders knew that it did not pay to be brutal.

The islanders also had wicked motives. They lived in a constant state of tribal warfare and were at least as ruthless and greedy as the traders. Their strategic position was superior, and the slow-loading muskets and pistols of the white men landing on a hostile shore did not confer any great advantage over spears, arrows, and tomahawks. What to the traders was treachery in their sudden and often unprovoked attacks was often carefully planned. Their fear of supernatural powers was increased when strange diseases were introduced by the strangers, but the attacks did not differ greatly from their marauding raids against tribal enemies.

Shineberg's reassessment of this first confrontation between primitive tribesmen and thrusting adventurers is judicious and sets a tragic and often sordid story in better perspective.

Berkeley, California

J. B. CONDLIFFE

DAVAO: A CASE STUDY IN JAPANESE-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS. By *Grant K. Goodman*. [International Studies, East Asian Series, Research Publication, Number 1.] ([Lawrence:] Center for East Asian Studies, University of Kansas; distrib. by Paragon Book Gallery, New York. 1967. Pp. 117. \$4.50.)

INTERNATIONAL intricacies emanating from the prewar Japanese enclave in Mindanao serve as the subject of this revealing monograph. Professor Goodman's triangular analysis draws strength from proportional reliance on Japanese, American, and Philippine archives. He emphasizes Davao's unique role in the delicate interaction by referring to it as "a microcosm not only of Japanese-American relations but, also . . . of the relations between an increasingly aggressive imperial Japan and a soon to be independent Philippines."

Goodman's study covers the years between 1904 and 1941. Initially, Davao was little more than a primitive fishing village indistinguishable from its somnolent neighbors. By 1940 it had become the dynamic center of a burgeoning province, specializing in hemp and lumber production, with a population exceeding 200,000. Nipponese energy, skill, and capital generated the spectacular transformation. From a humble group of slightly over one hundred contract laborers the Japanese

community expanded through steady immigration to a total verging on eighteen thousand. Predictably, the unprecedented concentration led to the formation of a cultural island that gradually assumed the qualities of a state within a state. The unforeseen development created troublesome problems for American administrators, Japanese diplomats, and Filipino national leaders.

Until 1931 the tripartite arrangement remained relatively unruffled. After Japan embarked on its Manchurian venture, however, relations deteriorated. Tagalog politicians and Manila journalists increasingly warned of Davao's ominous potential and periodically called for programs to eliminate or counter the threat of "Davaokuo." Despite persistent rumors of subversion, Goodman found no evidence of such activities. Responsible Filipinos, Japanese, and Americans did everything in their power to prevent ugly incidents. That they succeeded was due in large part to Manuel Quezon's "statesmanship." Goodman, however, limited his praise to the commonwealth's President and other prominent Nacionalistas. Toward Davao's self-serving politicians, including provincial representatives to the National Assembly, he developed an attitude verging on contempt. The emergence of Japanese economic power and cultural exclusiveness was probably inevitable. The political influence they achieved in Davao, however, could have been avoided. For that phenomenon, concluded Goodman, "Filipinos had only themselves to blame."

The study adds up to a concise and readable account of an obscure yet important phase of prewar diplomacy. But it reveals far more than the course of formal relations. Goodman's detached treatment of subsidiary themes, particularly the economic development of Davao and the interplay between Philippine national and provincial politics, should prove interesting to all students of Southeast Asia.

Muskingum College

DAVID R. STURTEVANT

Americas

NORTHERN MISTS. By *Carl O. Sauer*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. 204. \$5.75.)

FRIEDRICH Nansen's elaborate two-volume *In Northern Mists* (1911) is one of the classics of historical geography. Carl Sauer's *Northern Mists* covers the same ground in brief compass, consciously acknowledging its dependence upon Nansen's pioneering study. Sauer's thesis, derived from "slender but consistent evidence," is that the Irish were "the first Europeans to reach and remain on the North American mainland." Irish settlement in the New World, probably in the southern New England area, was not only prior to the Norse discovery of Vinland, but resulted, indeed, from Norse pressures upon the pre-existing Irish settlements in the Shetland, Orkney, and Faeroe Islands, Iceland, and so forth. Sauer's view, which has caused some scholars to ask jokingly "whether Sauer has gone sour," is based in large measure on the reports of a Hvítamannaland (White Man's Land), or Ireland the Great, west of Vinland, reported in some of the saga narratives. The possibility of Irish settlement in the New World prior to the Norse visits is a real one, but Sauer, in his interpretation of this, as of other aspects of

northern exploration, is perhaps more willing to give us the results of his assumptions and speculation than of any new factual evidence or logical inference from previously known facts. The book is very lightly documented with only occasional references to basic sources.

For all its speculative nature, Sauer's book is a useful addition to the literature. It is particularly strong in its discussion of the physical geography, the flora and fauna, and other aspects of discovery in which a geographer could be expected to have more to contribute than a conventionally trained historian. Sauer's discussions of the *Labrusca* grape of New England, the mösurr wood described by the sagas, the gneiss, sandstone, and granite building materials of Greenland, or the eider ducks of Nordrsetr, the northern hunting territory of the Greenlanders, are fully and clearly set forth. His chapter on "Whaling and Sea Fisheries," in which he deals with the Biscayan role in those activities, is particularly detailed. But, in essence, the book is Sauer's reconstruction of the events of Irish, Norse, Portuguese, and English penetration into the North Atlantic area in the years before Columbus. The historian writing in the field of northern discoveries will find Sauer's exposition imaginative, but Nansen's book is still the best guide through the "northern mists."

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE WARS OF AMERICA. By *Robert Leckie*. Foreword by *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xvii, 1052. \$12.50.)

IN this lengthy volume the author attempts a survey of military operations involving colonial English America and the United States from the first settlements to 1967. He is reasonably successful in doing so through the Civil War, except that he all but ignores the conflicts with the Indians after the Revolution and does not even mention the grueling Seminole War of 1835-1841. He is at his best in describing the Mexican and Civil Wars. In treating the post-Civil War century he strays increasingly from the story of combat to observations on domestic and international politics. References to "the American guarantee of Chinese independence in 1900" as the direct antecedent of Pearl Harbor, and to Elihu Root as the man who "infected his country with the disease of militarism," are examples of interpretations more challengeable than challenging. When he gets to World War II, the author's strong anti-Soviet bias produces interpretations laced with misstatements of fact, as on page 818: the Elbe in the vicinity of Magdeburg was not "the point to which" Eisenhower "was supposed to withdraw anyway"; and, with respect to Prague, Eisenhower was following orders from Washington, not Moscow. As for balance, Iwo Jima gets more attention than the whole European campaign after the Ardennes. In the concluding fifty pages on the current war, the actual military operations get almost no attention.

Earlier, Mr. Leckie shows his skill as a facile writer and good storyteller, which is already attested in the sixteen other books he has had published since 1957. The author draws his material, fairly exclusively and usually uncritically, from a limited number of secondary works, such as those of Francis Parkman, Christopher Ward, Justin H. Smith, Bruce Catton, and Harwell's abridgment of Freeman's *Lee*. The number of errors is disconcerting, as in references to riflemen

at Lexington, the American victory at Bunker Hill, the battle at Guilford Court House in Virginia, import duties totaling \$413,000,000 in 1811, and Jackson's victory at Horseshoe Bend in 1812 with a force of two hundred. Slips of this sort negate the value of the volume for the finicky, but those who like to read military history told in lively prose will find much in this book to enjoy.

Department of the Army

STETSON CONN

ORIGINS OF THE FIFTH AMENDMENT: THE RIGHT AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION. By *Leonard W. Levy*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 561. \$12.50.)

THIS book is concerned with tracing the antecedents of that clause of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which provides that no person "shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself." While it is commonly known by the judiciary and the bar as the privilege against self-incrimination, Professor Levy, Hohfeld notwithstanding, prefers to call it "a right against self-incrimination." Although historians have suggested that the privilege developed from the hostility, both popular and judicial, to use of the oath ex officio by Elizabethan and Stuart Courts of High Commission, and it is generally admitted that the privilege appears in English common-law practice around the middle of the seventeenth century, precedents squarely in point are difficult to find in the decisional law. As late as 1857 Fitzjames Stephen, the famous English historian of the criminal law, remarked that "it is a curious circumstance, that, though the practice has been uniform for a great length of time . . . there should be much difficulty in finding express authorities for the proposition that it would be illegal to interrogate the prisoner. I have unsuccessfully searched the principal text writers both on Criminal Law and on Evidence for such a statement, and I have not been able to find one either in Blackstone, Stephen, Hale, Hawkins, Foster, Russell, Phillipps, Starkie, or Taylor."

In his historical quest Levy has not uncovered any of the "express authorities" sought by Stephen; he rests his case as to recognition of the privilege by the common-law courts during the Restoration on scattered, and at times confused, colloquies between the bench and the accused or the prosecutor or a witness published in Cobbett's or Howell's collections of state trials in King's Bench or at the Old Bailey. In none of these cases was the privilege a subject of dispute. Whether an examination of the manuscript records of the central courts and the assizes and quarter sessions preserved at the Public Record Office in London and at county archives would illuminate the depth and extent of recognition of the privilege still awaits investigation. Particularly desirable would be an evaluation of the impact of the privilege, if any, upon the examination of suspects in manslaughter and felony cases authorized by statutes of Philip and Mary. The Latin tag "*Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*" appeared in justices' manuals as early as 1588; what effect, if any, did it have? Levy's contribution consists in providing a detailed study of the struggle against use of the oath ex officio and for acceptance of the right or privilege against self-incrimination on the part of the accused in the prerogative courts during the Tudor and Stuart periods. This struggle undoubtedly shaped the attitudes of the common-law judges.

Following an introductory comparison of the accusatorial process of the Eng-

lish common law with the inquisitorial process of the civil and canon laws and references to early use of the oath *de veritate dicenda* by the Church in England, the author, starting with John Lambert's trial for heresy in 1537, gives a comprehensive account with abundant documentation of trials in the ecclesiastical courts, Star Chamber, and the common-law courts involving the right against self-accusation or against self-incrimination, of polemical writings generated by use of the oath *ex officio*, and of several parliamentary attempts to abolish the oath. The account terminates with the trials of John Lilburne, a libertarian extremist, who perhaps is given too much credit for gaining acceptance of the privilege against self-incrimination by the common-law courts. Relying at first on natural law arguments and misapplication of a canon law principle, proponents of the privilege advanced to legal arguments drawn from Magna Carta, statutes of the fourteenth century, the fundamental laws of England, and, ultimately, the Petition of Right. The role of the common-law courts was largely limited to issuance of prohibitions against the Court of High Commission's use of the oath *ex officio*; their utterances lack consistency and at times appear to limit the privilege in Star Chamber to cases involving life or limb.

In his last three chapters Levy, making little use of the abundant manuscript sources, oversimplifying the reception process, and disregarding the extension of the statutes of Philip and Mary to some colonies at least, attempts to show that the privilege against self-incrimination was firmly established in the American colonies by 1776, taking violent exception to the conclusion of Goebel and Naughton that in colonial New York the privilege was an exotic of Westminster Hall. Treatment of the reception problems in the states following independence is sketchy and provides little that is new on any social pressures or political considerations that led to inclusion of the privilege in the Bill of Rights or the restrictive phraseology adopted. Most American lawyers and legal historians will be primarily interested in the developments described in the last three chapters; unfortunately they will find the last chapters less rewarding than the earlier.

Columbia University

JOSEPH H. SMITH

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Bernard Bailyn*. [The Charles K. Colver Lectures, Brown University, 1965.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xi, 161, xii. \$4.95.)

THIS suggestive and generally persuasive interpretation of politics in colonial America (previously published in the initial issue of *Perspectives in American History*) is in part an elaboration upon a theme originally developed by Mr. Bailyn in the introduction to his *Pamphlets of the American Revolution* and more fully in *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, a separately published revision of that introduction. There he insisted upon the reality and critical importance of the fear so often expressed by the rebellious colonists that the recent course of imperial policy represented a conspiracy to destroy their liberties, and he attributed this conviction to deep-rooted attitudes that owed much to the writings of such earlier critics of the English establishment as Trenchard and Gordon. Here, through analysis of the political experience of the colonists during the first half of the eighteenth century, he seeks an answer to the question

of why attitudes so largely borrowed from Englishmen proved to be so much more explosive in America than they were in England.

In the pursuit of this question the study becomes a very interesting venture into the field of Anglo-American politics. The point of departure is a discussion of the contrast, existing on both sides of the Atlantic, between accepted assumptions regarding the constitution of government and the actual political process. In England the assumed balance of powers belonging to the monarch, the aristocracy, and the democracy was belied by a use of patronage, and other forms of influence, to bring Parliament into a working alignment with the wishes of the king and his ministers. The degree of stability thus achieved was generally lacking in the colonies, where governors constitutionally enjoyed powers exceeding those actually exercised by their sovereign at home, but lacked the means to make their authority effective. To mention but one example, much of the patronage that might have given them leverage was distributed either by Westminster or by colonial leaders with whom a governor had to come to terms if his administration was to be given even the appearance of success. A resulting intensification of conflict, constitutional and political, often lent a special turbulence to the politics of colonial America and encouraged the colonist to believe that he faced dangers to his liberty that were immediate and real, not merely remote or theoretical.

Once more, Bailyn has advanced an engaging hypothesis for the resolution of a major problem in our history. Such questions as might here be raised, if space permitted, are safely left to his colleagues in the profession, for his study merits, and will receive, close attention from them all.

Princeton University

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN

AMERICA'S POLITICAL DILEMMA: FROM LIMITED TO UNLIMITED DEMOCRACY. By *Gottfried Dietze*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 298. \$7.95.)

In contrast to the many young Europeans who see the United States as the chief upholder of conservative traditions in the world, here is a German-born professor who believes America failed to fulfill its "dream" because it became too democratic. His general argument is the one heard so frequently during the New Deal: the founding fathers wanted a representative, federal government limited by constitutional law, and that what had evolved was a democratic, centralized government subject to majority rule.

Strictly speaking, this book is in the field of political science, not history. Professor Dietze's thesis is on much too high and generalized a level to be proved or disproved by historical evidence. Rather, certain historical events, both American and European, are invoked to illustrate the meaning of the argument. The evidence is often used with skill and discrimination, and those who are convinced will find many phrases to remember. Furthermore, the theme of decline and probable fall is pursued with a thoroughness that traces the bad effects of the loss of "liberalism" through surrender to democracy on all branches of government and on the conduct of foreign relations. But the book is not designed for the historian looking for novel interpretations or revisions of established factual narrative.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

BOOKBINDING IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA. By *C. Clement Samford* and *John M. Hemphill II*. [Williamsburg Research Studies.] (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg; distrib. by University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1966. Pp. xxi, 185. \$4.00.)

THIS is the first publication of the "Williamsburg Research Studies" to deal with a specific craft in colonial Williamsburg. To my knowledge it is the first major study of American bookbinding to appear since Hannah French's 1941 *Early American Bookbinding by Hand*. The study was originally prepared in 1953 for internal circulation at Williamsburg, and, unfortunately, the work still bears the marks of a work for the specialist. The title is misleading, if not parochial; instead of describing binding in colonial Virginia, the authors have really limited themselves to identifying and describing the work of the "family tree" of Williamsburg binders that began with the arrival of William Parks from Annapolis in 1730 and ended with the death of Thomas Brend in 1799.

In the first two of three substantive chapters Samford and Hemphill tell of the establishment of Parks's shop in Williamsburg after a brief stay in Annapolis and of the scope of the business operations of Parks's successors, William Hunter, Joseph Royle, and Brend. Considering the dearth of evidence available, the authors have achieved a satisfactory, if largely conjectural, reconstruction of the binding operations of these men. But it seems that they see a false distinction between binding and other parts of the colonial book trade. They note, for example, that books imported from England or bought in sheets provided the colonial binder with an "important segment of his business." To be sure, many of these books were bound or stitched before they were sold, but this was really only an adjunct of the book trade.

In their third chapter Samford and Hemphill analyze those books bound by Parks and his successors. They carefully note what decorative rolls and *fleurons* the Williamsburg binders used, providing the reader with fourteen illustrations. The language is technical, but an important failing of the chapter is that the authors do not offer comparisons between Williamsburg bindings and those done in England or elsewhere in the American colonies. How typical were these bindings and the binders' tools? One might well ask what sets these Williamsburg binders apart from the many others in the colonial book trade.

Skidmore College

PETER J. PARKER

DETAILED REPORTS ON THE SALZBURGER EMIGRANTS WHO SETTLED IN AMERICA . . . EDITED BY SAMUEL URLSPERGER. Volume I, 1733-1734. Edited with an introduction by *George Fenwick Jones*. Translated by *Hermann J. Lacher*. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 9.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1968. Pp. xxii, 211. \$7.50.)

ORIGINALLY printed at Halle in 1735, this is the first in a series of reports on the Georgia Salzburgers prepared and published by the moving spirit of the colonizing venture and the spiritual father of these German Pietists, the Reverend Samuel Urlsperger of St. Anne's Church, Augsburg. It is composed of an account by Urlsperger himself of how the emigrants were dispatched from Germany; a diary (November 1732-June 1733) kept by Johann Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian

Gronau, the two pastors who accompanied the Salzburgers to Georgia; a description of the Georgia Indians by the supervisor of the Salzburger migration, Von Reck, and the diary of his return to Germany via Philadelphia, New York, and New England in 1734; and a number of "remarkable" letters from Bolzius, Gronau, and other Salzburger settlers. Each of these writers wrote and the editor published to testify to God's hand in the venture and thereby persuade the devout to give it their support. Buried in the pervasive sermonizing is concrete information about what the Salzburgers found in Georgia and what they did there.

The confession of the present editor, George Fenwick Jones, that a "spot-check" of the original documents in Halle revealed that Urlsperger deleted "whatever he thought best unsaid" raises some question about the utility of printing the translations of this and, as is planned, subsequent volumes of the Urlsperger *Reports* without referring to the documents they purport to reproduce. And the ready availability in English of much of Bolzius' writing, which forms most of the *Reports*, perhaps lessens the urgency of rushing into print. Hermann J. Lacher's translation appears to be excellent, and the editor and press have done well by his manuscript, though Jones's annotation is exceedingly sparse, often uninformative, and occasionally gratuitous or even inane.

University of Virginia

W. W. ABBOT

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume XI, JANUARY 1 THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1764. *Leonard W. Labaree*, Editor. *Helen C. Boatfield* and *James H. Hutson*, Assistant Editors. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 593. \$15.00.)

IN the life of Benjamin Franklin, as in the history of Pennsylvania, the year 1764 was the year of the petition—the "Petition of the Pennsylvania Freeholders and Inhabitants to the King [March 29, 1764]"—asking that Pennsylvania be made a royal province. In this year Franklin's career was so completely identified with the history of the province that it is difficult to separate them. It is difficult, even, to suppose that one could have unfolded as it did without the other. The Franklin papers contained in the present volume constitute a massive and indispensable documentation of both.

It was in 1764 that Pennsylvania's conflict with its proprietors reached a climax. On March 24 the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a "Necklace of Resolves," setting forth an exhaustive list of its complaints against them, and on May 26 it adopted the petition it proposed to present to the King asking that the crown "resume" the government of the province, which Franklin signed as Speaker. But the adoption of the petition precipitated what was probably the bitterest division of political opinion in Pennsylvania history, and there ensued a propaganda war, led by Franklin and Joseph Galloway on the side of the petition and by John Dickinson and Provost William Smith on the proprietary side. Franklin contributed a number of pieces to the mass of publications on the issue, the most notable of which, probably, was his *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs*, in which he attacked the proprietary establishment in Pennsylvania on the ground of the fallacies and inefficiency inherent in

all proprietary governments. The most notable publication on the other side, and probably the most scurrilous, was Smith's *An Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks*, published here in its ten-thousand-word entirety.

In his contributions to the debate over the petition and to the intercolonial polemic against England, Franklin's political thinking shows a steady growth toward the theory of colonies as sovereign, or quasi-sovereign, new societies presently formulated by Richard Bland, but anticipated by Franklin in the Assembly's instructions to Richard Jackson of September 22, 1764. In his political stature Franklin progresses during the year from being a member of the Assembly to being its Speaker, and from that position to that of advocate for the colony before the crown; occupying that position, he soon became a voice and a publicist for all continental colonies in their dialogue with the mother country over the new developments in colonial policy. Meanwhile, Franklin still found time to write comments on science and on music and musicians in general.

As in the other volumes in this series, the editors have performed a superb editorial service. The running editorial notes that accompany the text of Franklin's *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs* are valuable for an understanding of the issues involved in the debate; the editors point out Franklin's appeal to emotion in his *Narrative of the Late Massacres in Lancaster County*, and they also point out, in passing, that after the incident Philadelphia "returned to its accustomed routine, if not to its theoretical condition of brotherly love." The headnotes of the major documents give an excellent history of the polemical battle over the petition and related controversies.

On the other hand, the editors, acknowledging the impossibility of printing all the documents pertinent to Franklin's part in the campaign of 1764, also admit the possibility that some of the documents they have omitted may have been written by Franklin himself; it is impossible to achieve a positive attribution in all cases. The best result obtainable, then, is what they call "a sampling." Such are the problems and the arts of critical historical editing. The history of this job of editing would be, in itself, a study of great interest and value to historians.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

RUFUS KING: AMERICAN FEDERALIST. By *Robert Ernst*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1968. Pp. ix, 446. \$10.00.)

OUR understanding of politics can be immeasurably deepened by studies of second-ranking figures often overshadowed by the great men of their time. This is Professor Ernst's purpose in *Rufus King*, a study of a man whose public career spanned the Declaration of Independence and the onset of Jacksonianism but who has never received serious biographical treatment. King ably represented New England Federalism in the Massachusetts General Court, the Articles of Confederation Congress, and the Constitutional Convention. As New York's first United States senator and as minister to England, 1796-1803, he reflected the most vigorous phase of Hamiltonian Federalism. As Federalism waned, however, King

became an anachronism, as he so well demonstrated in the Senate after 1813, in his candidacies for New York's governorship and the presidency, and in his brief tour as minister to England in 1825.

In dealing with a man "foremost in the second rank of political figures," Ernst faced a difficult task because King abounded in contradictions. Devoted son of a Tory, he became a revolutionary patriot; a serious Harvard student, he paid the highest fines for assorted escapades; dreading a strengthened Articles of Confederation, he vigorously supported the new federal Constitution; a conservative aristocrat, he despised the Society of the Cincinnati. In broader matters, he opposed religious establishment in Massachusetts, but fought for public support of religion in the Northwest Territory, and his ideas and stances on Negroes and slavery fluctuated illogically.

Ernst has carefully noted each of King's twists and turns, but simply detailing them does not make them understandable. More interpretation is needed to make King's career meaningful. Perhaps the fault lies with the sources, for King's correspondence seems to lack any sense of self-appraisal or explanation of conduct. The most striking analysis of King's activities, which Ernst discounts, is Alexander Hamilton's supposed comment: "I revolutionized his mind." For King was conceited enough to believe that he was bending others to his will when in fact they were using him. Several generations of politicians may in turn have "revolutionized his mind."

Ernst has fully utilized his sources, given us a serious and scholarly study, and enriched our knowledge of the period. *Rufus King* is a significant addition to this era's literature and takes its place alongside W. E. A. Bernhard's *Fisher Ames* and M. R. Zahniser's *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*. From these and similar works will emerge a better understanding of early American conservatism.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE H. LEDER

DEMOCRATS VS. REPUBLICANS: THE CONTINUING CLASH. By Thomas A. Bailey. (New York: Meredith Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 179. \$4.95.)

ONE of the phenomena of historical writing in the United States in its most recent decades has been a revived interest in "political" history. This probably arises from the fact that American society has become acutely conscious of the strength of conflicting ideologies just as Western European "civilization" has become unpleasantly aware of competing, sometimes hostile, populations in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Uncertainty and apprehension have stirred concern for more accurate knowledge of the historical patterns that in the early twentieth century had come to be taken for granted as sufficiently explored.

In the course of the development of this revived and expanded interest at least three models of conceptualization have been utilized. One of these, which has been developed by historians and political scientists in collaboration, is illustrated in *The American Party Systems*, edited by Chambers and Burnham (*AHR*, LXXIII [June 1968], 1631). In this collaborative work, techniques of the two disciplines have been united in a type of statistical analysis that has caused them to discover and identify systems of political partisanship occurring in chronological succession.

Another method of analysis that I find useful traces back into the centuries of their English origin certain patterns of political behavior, which were adapted to American use when they were transplanted but which did not produce organized political parties in the modern sense until well along in the nineteenth century and not until after passing through a rather confused and unorganized phase of factionalism.

A third type, much honored by long use and scholarly preference, traces the evolution to two political parties simultaneously and almost continuously since the American Revolution. Bailey has selected this type.

His study is the neatest, the most convenient, the most compact, and at the same time probably the most perceptive within the last category. He subscribes to the concept of the continuous clash of two parties that have fought over issues connected with the nation's evolution, which have been dictated by the various phases of growth of an ever more numerous society in a vast, wealth-filled area. The clash is described in ideological terms based on policies of which Hamilton and Jefferson are the traditional authors. Bailey recognizes the complications involved in so neat an analysis and does not permit himself to fall victim to the temptation of simple analysis. He is particularly aware of today's dilemmas, and he presents the wisdom that long study has produced. Many should read this study carefully as they approach 1968, despite the fact that it was in print before the memorable Sunday evening broadcast. The author is the master of arresting phrase that rivets the reader's attention and remains in his memory. Though he has, in my opinion, oversimplified and made more continuous than it actually was the early history of our parties, his understanding of our present political dilemmas makes his book a must for those who wish to comprehend the politics of 1968.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES: DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE CREEK NATION. By *J. Leitch Wright, Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 211. \$6.95.)

THIS is the story of the short career of forty-two years of a versatile white man whose role, at times sensational, was played out in the society of both the white man and the Indian. Born in frontier Maryland in 1763, William Augustus Bowles joined a Maryland loyalist regiment during the American Revolution and abandoned it to cast his lot with Indians on the southern frontier, particularly the Lower Creeks. Known by the Indians as Eastajoca, he obtained the title of director general of the Creek nation and took at least two Indian wives. Bowles became a British half-pay officer as he devoted his efforts to British interests on the southern frontier and the establishment of an independent Indian state of Muskogee. His greatest advantage was the supply of British goods from such ports as Nassau, but the tide of his fortune fluctuated with the turn of international events in which he was most often the antagonist of Spain and the United States. Bowles consistently attempted to undermine the position of Panton, Leslie, and Company in the Indian trade, and he challenged the influence among the Creek Indians of Alexander McGillivray, a leader who was three-quarters white.

When McGillivray died in 1793, Bowles was unable immediately to benefit because he was then being held prisoner by Spain, a captivity that continued for over six years, during which time he was forced to travel from Cuba to Spain, the Philippines, and Africa. Upon escaping from the Spanish, he eventually made his way back to the Creek country and exercised broad control over the militant state of Muskogee, which even featured for a time its own navy of privateers. Continued international strife among European powers was Bowles's best chance for success in playing Muskogee and British interests against those of Spain, France, and the United States, but the Peace of Amiens of 1802 minimized his opportunities. He then staked his future on wielding influence at a major council meeting in 1803 of leading southern Indian tribes, but he failed and was captured and turned over to Spanish authorities who again imprisoned him until his death in 1805.

This is an objective and judicious study in which the author has carefully searched the sources both in the Americas and in Europe. Records of the public career of Bowles survive, but no personal family letters have been discovered. The volume provides a good discussion of the international stage upon which Bowles dramatically played his role, but it is less satisfactory on the organization and administration of the Indian tribes. This story fills an obvious gap in Americana, one in which the failures of Bowles are more significant than his minor successes.

University of Kansas

W. STITT ROBINSON

THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL PROFESSION: THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS, 1780-1860. By *Joseph F. Kett*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 217. \$6.50.)

THE author places the content of this book somewhere between the title and the subtitle. Except for the final chapter, however, there is no really concerted attempt to develop a thesis approaching either.

The work is essentially a collection of case studies: the first part covers institutional developments in medical organization, education, and licensure in the states of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, South Carolina, and Ohio; each state is taken separately and treated episodically. The second part of the book deals with medical sectarianism, and Thompsonianism and homeopathy receive the most attention.

Although the book is well written, displays evidence of good scholarship, and presents some interesting and provocative ideas, it is disappointing. The approach is not an easy historical method, and the author has succumbed to its many pitfalls: the outstanding is confused with the typical; instances are omitted which, at least in the judgment of others, are pertinent, if not typical; the atypical, which may nevertheless not be without significance, is disregarded; details take precedence over general patterns; and the selection of materials is too readily a reflection of their availability. I give but a few illustrations. For example, I am not convinced by the reasons given for the omission of Louisiana. That state was included in the original dissertation upon which this book is based; in my opinion, it cannot be so cavalierly treated in a discussion of medical licensure. The failure to include any state that had no medical school suggests, without warrant, that

these states had little significance in the development of the profession. The post-Hosack period in medical education in New York was very significant to the profession; yet only the oft-told earlier and really less significant story is retold. Daniel Drake's career in Ohio elicits a blow-by-blow account. Finally, it is difficult to justify the inclusion of extended discussions of British education and licensing experience, Canadian activity, and of European mesmerism, while so much of pertinence, like Louisiana, or the New York University Medical School, or the American Medical Association, is slighted.

These are mainly methodological failings. Fortunately, were the segments treated as if each were a separate entity, one would find them substantively sound. The specialist in the history of medicine will find much interesting detail; the historian of politics will find that the author has not neglected to trace the lines of power; the intellectual historian will be pleased by the incisive discussion of the relationships between homeopathy, mesmerism, and Swedenborgianism.

Two ideas put forth by the author bear comment. First, even if one were to grant that homeopathy was scientific because nineteenth-century science "had to be philosophical," it would not necessarily follow that the individual homeopathic practitioner was "scientifically oriented." Second, one must ask for care with the contention that in 1860 American medicine, despite the absence of legislation and the low state of the medical societies, was better regulated than ever before. It could well be argued that the high proportion of "regular" to "irregular" practitioners, and the ease with which they could be distinguished, was of little meaning while medical education itself was of such mean quality.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

DAVID L. COWEN

THE PAPERS OF JAMES MADISON, Volume IV, 1 JANUARY 1782-31 JULY 1782. Edited by *William T. Hutchinson* and *William M. E. Rachal*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 486. \$12.50.)

OF the 211 documents in this volume of Madison's papers, 43 are letters written by Madison, most of them to his political associates and friends, Edmund Pendleton and Edmund Randolph. In their exchanges all three gentlemen display a lively interest in the intricacies of a state's constitutional relationship to the general government and an intense concern about the inadequacies of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. Their correspondence also provides a fascinating glimpse into factional politics in the Virginia legislature as the Lees carried their fight against Robert Morris into the chambers of the House of Delegates. Like a large proportion of the other documents printed here, most of Madison's letters are in one way or another concerned with some aspect of the peace negotiations just under way, or with congressional maneuverings to block Virginia's qualified cession of western lands and at the same time to secure the admission of Vermont as a state.

It should be reported that the editors of these volumes have not been deflected from their original editorial approach by recent strictures on their propensity to leave nothing unexplained or unidentified. Perhaps it was ungracious in the first place to make a fuss about too much of a good thing, but the nagging fear that none of us will live to see the end persists.

As for James Madison himself, he continued in 1782 to stick strictly to busi-

ness in his correspondence, revealing little about the inner or the outer man. Although Governor Benjamin Harrison was certainly less than fair in complaining of the "sterility" of his letters, he was being eminently just when he charged that Madison "did not communicate the circulating news."

University of Virginia

W. W. ABBOT

THE AMERICAN PRINTER, 1787-1825. By Rollo G. Silver. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. 1967. Pp. xii, 189. \$7.50.)

To no art and craft in early American history have so much research and writing been devoted as to printing, and with such fruitful results. In the historiography of the subject three names lead all the rest as collectors, compilers, and historians: Isaiah Thomas, contemporary printer, author, and promoter; Clarence S. Brigham, bibliographer and editor; and Lawrence C. Wroth, historian and librarian. Rollo G. Silver has established himself in this distinguished company, contributing notably to the bibliography of early American printing that has expanded steadily since the second edition of Wroth's *Colonial Printer* (1938). Silver's works deal for the most part with the postrevolutionary and early national period, and the present volume incorporates some of his previous findings with his more recent research on the years 1787-1825.

As the author points out in his preface, this book is not a history of printing in America; nor does it include publishing. It is an exposition of printing as a craft, the artisans involved and their relations with one another, the business and practice of printing, the printer's dealings with authors, and problems of typography that relate ultimately to bookmaking and the art of printing. While each chapter reveals the author's sense of historical narrative, only Chapter v, on expansion of the press west of the Appalachians, is essentially narrative in character. Chapter vi, "Typography and Illustration," provides an appreciation of the close kinship between the craft and the art, although few printers became conscious artists. Some impressive illustrations of contemporary book pages complement the text.

The prime value of Silver's book consists of its lucid explanation of what went on in the printing office, economic and technological, by way of human and business relations, and of how American printers took the initiative, using their European heritage and adapting it to the needs of an expanding society. Although the primary materials on the subject are diverse, only two manuscript sources yielded valuable detailed information, the Isaiah Thomas Papers and the Mathew Carey Papers, both groups in the American Antiquarian Society. Few printers seem to have given thought to the preservation of their records. In spite of this handicap, Silver has advanced our knowledge of the subject with distinction and in readable style.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LESTER J. CAPPON

PROLOGUE TO DEMOCRACY: THE FEDERALISTS IN THE SOUTH, 1789-1800. By Lisle A. Rose. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 326. \$8.50.)

In *Prologue to Democracy* Professor Rose proposes a "modest reassessment" of the thesis, recently put forth in effective form by David H. Fischer, that links the rise of political democracy to the organization of the first American party system. American democracy, according to this view, was the child neither of the colonial period, nor of the Age of Jackson; it was the offspring of the contest for votes and power between Jeffersonian Republicans and their Federalist opponents. Spurred in its initial phases by the Republicans who first established party organization and techniques in the modern sense, the democratization of the electorate received new momentum when the Federalists, under a second generation of leaders, finally brought themselves to organize and campaign.

Rose believes that the southern Federalists deserve better. While certainly not claiming them as "forgotten democrats," he nevertheless judges them to have been as creative and energetic in originating the party system as their Republican rivals and therefore holds them entitled to equal credit for launching the process of democratization. Not only were they first to reach the grass roots through the use of mass meetings; not only did they take up campaign letters, petitions, newspapers, party tickets, and patriotic appeals as soon as the Republicans; they actually preceded their opponents in deliberately undertaking a permanent, albeit rudimentary, party organization.

Were these Federalists as vigorous and pioneering as Rose believes? Judged by the amount of space given in this book to description of their legislative maneuvering and intraparty squabbles, the southern Federalists appear much more prone to politics in the traditional elitist sense. As portrayed here, their halting, stumbling progress toward party organization still seems, to use Fischer's characterization, "incomplete, intermittent, and, in competition with the Jeffersonians, generally inadequate." Again, did the Federalists regard themselves as establishing a cohesive party organization as such? Hamilton's statement, heavily relied on, suggests that the New Yorker wanted to bolster the central government as a structural entity by creating, as he wrote, "a mass of influence in favor of the Federal Government." Since Federalists repeatedly stressed the importance of mobilizing public support for "government" in this sense of the word, it would require more persuasive evidence than is here adduced to establish their "partisan" intent.

Still, this volume will serve important uses. Specialists will be interested in Rose's detailed account of the Federalist party as it emerged in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. We now have, for the first time, a systematic modern account of Federalism in the South, heretofore a neglected subject. Finally, while the book's revisionism is perhaps more one of emphasis than substance—no one has denied that *some* Federalists were building party organization in this period—its bold contentions may lead historians to a more precise comparative measurement of both Federalist and Republican efforts and accomplishments in this regard than has hitherto been attempted.

American University

ROGER H. BROWN

THE GROWTH OF THE SEAPORT CITIES, 1790-1825: PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE ELEUTHERIAN MILLS-HAGLEY FOUNDATION, MARCH 17-19, 1966. Edited by *David T. Gilchrist*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Foundation. 1967. Pp. xvi, 227. \$5.00.)

THIS conference, which attracted 117 active and passive participants, was organized to consider "the formative role of maritime commerce in the rapid growth of the nation's economy." Some questions on the point had arisen since the appearance of my New York port study in 1939. The discussions centered around the experiences of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore and approached the subject from many angles. Altogether, they confirmed the 1939 view of "the rise of New York to a position unmistakably ahead of the others, even before the opening of the Erie Canal," but, beyond that, there were wide divergences in the views presented in the major papers, the formal comments, and the discussions. The very real value of this slim volume is that it records a wide variety of peripheral aspects not easily found elsewhere. The generous footnoting of the major articles adds further value to the book.

The six major papers were "Urban Growth and Regional Development," by Julius Rubin; "Population," by Everett S. Lee; "Foreign Trade," by Gordon J. Bjork; "Trade and Manufactures," by John G. B. Hutchins; "Financial Institutions," by Herman E. Krooss; and "Economic Thought," by Joseph Dorfman. There were discussions of immigration, manufacturing, protectionism, and relations with the hinterland. There were divergent views on whether it was the end of an old era or the beginning of a new one; likewise on whether the population growth, though faster than the national average and faster than the cities of England, was really rapid. Carter Goodrich, chairman of the conference, in summing up such consensus as could be reached, said, in part: "The impression left by this discussion is that the four cities were commercial at their core; throughout the period the central determining activity was the commercial one. . . . Manufacturing moved in and out of our immediate picture growing somewhat in relation to the economy as a whole but not becoming the primary function of our four cities. Perhaps the financial institutions may be put in a somewhat similar category. . . . A general impression left by the discussion is that our cities during the period were not making an enormous success story."

In one of the most controversial papers, Bjork claimed that "By 1825, foreign trade had greatly declined in economic importance for the United States as a whole" and that "America no longer looked eastward." He based this negative view primarily on his table of per capita exports, which were far less significant than import or shipping statistics, if available, would have been. One commentator asked how relevant such figures would be "in understanding the motivation of merchants and farmers as they made decisions affecting the economic growth." Had I been able to attend the conference, I would have had more to say on the subject. Bjork's per capita export table shows New York gaining rather than declining. It was import and shipping activity, rather than exporting, that helped to build up a seaport because of the initiative and special functions involved. Whereas Philadelphia and Baltimore were declining in maritime activity, his

export emphasis gives a false picture of Boston which then and later made a very impressive record in importing, in shipping, and in shipbuilding.

Harvard University

ROBERT G. ALBION

SPANISH WAR VESSELS ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1792-1796. By *Abraham P. Nasatir*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 18.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 359. \$10.00.)

SPANISH maritime history has a new dimension, thanks to painstaking research in European and American archives by that dean of archival treasure seekers, Abraham Nasatir. He has been a veteran of such activity since his youth, and his book is copiously documented, reflecting a lifelong career of document gathering.

In the period subsequent to French relinquishment of Louisiana to Spain (1762), and particularly after the close of the Revolutionary War, the Spanish government took measures to secure the Mississippi area from outside influence or from direct seizure. Spain's occupation policy borrowed heavily from French precedents, but, as regards this area, the Iberians instituted a new policy of military defense on inland waters. A fleet of small, armed vessels would strengthen the Spanish defensive posture in mid-America. This book, concentrating on a short span of years, is really two books: one a study of the problem that resulted in creation of the Mississippi River fleet; the second a series of related documents in the form of diaries of individual vessel operations in pursuit of Spanish policy. Both sections demonstrate clearly the importance of fortification of the Chickasaw Bluffs area and the need to preserve friendly relations with those Indians. Both strategic goals failed when the Spanish position was undermined locally by a distant, high-level diplomatic arrangement, the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real, which removed the critical area and its Indians from Spanish control. War vessels as instruments of national policy were no longer needed.

During their period of activity these river boats did multiple service, transporting men and supplies for building new military posts, aiding in plans for defense, acting as police vessels, delivering Indian gifts to further the ends of forest diplomacy, carrying mail, and preventing smuggling. They were not, however, naval vessels, but rather war vessels in army hands that were not always as dexterous as those of naval personnel might have been.

Notably absent in a book requiring such great archival investigation is a formal bibliography, though Nasatir's notes fully attest to the amount of research accomplished, even to the point where many notes are unduly long and digressive. In addition, in a study in which geographical considerations were so central to both policy and operations, the work has only one unsatisfactory *croquis* of limited area to orient the reader within the area covered by the study, from below New Orleans to the mouth of the Illinois River. Notwithstanding these problems, this is a worthwhile book.

University of New Mexico

DONALD C. CUTTER

PERILS: NAMED AND UNNAMED. THE STORY OF THE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NORTH AMERICA. By *William H. A. Carr*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 424. \$6.95.)

THE dust jacket of this sturdy book reminds us that "since 1792 the Insurance Company of North America has faced every peril known to man—war, famine, pestilence, shipwreck, earthquake, hurricane." The blurbwriter might well have added "journalists" to his list, for the present volume is the third book-length, company-sponsored, popularly written "history" in INA's lifetime. In style and perception it is no better and no worse than the studies by Thomas H. Montgomery (1885) and Marquis James (1942).

Mr. Carr's contribution lies in his extended description of events and personalities not covered by James, particularly the chairmanship of John A. Diemand (1941-1964). Diemand came up through the ranks imbued with INA's corporate philosophy that "any risk can be underwritten for a price." But as chief executive he confronted a market being revolutionized by mass communication, transportation, and consumption; by depression and war; and by government. He found himself increasingly cramped by his industry's insistence that, to preserve legal precedent and competitive stability, the business of underwriting had to be segregated by type of peril into such mutually exclusive lines as life, marine, fire, and casualty insurance.

Diemand's personal preference and corporate goal, however, was multiple-line underwriting—"to start with a blank sheet of paper and write a policy for a man's complete insurance needs." This quest made him and INA the mavericks of their industry. Much of his career was an ideological, legal, and competitive war against national, regional, and local underwriting associations and rating bureaus and against state insurance statutes and commissioners—the creators and perpetuators of uniformity in premium rates, agents' commissions, and forms. He was, on the whole, successful. By 1955 every state recognized the concept of multiple-line underwriting, and most were dealing with "independent companies" such as INA as well as with the "bureau companies." Consumer acceptance of Diemand's idea has been epitomized by the success of the "homeowners"-type blanket policy created by INA in 1950.

As a study of a property and casualty specialist that wrote no life insurance at all between 1817 and 1957, this work is useful within limits. It is replete with colorful personalities and yarns of unusual marine and fire claims, paid and unpaid. It will not satisfy most professional historians, however, in that it is too impressionistic and anecdotal to come to analytical grips with the myriad topics and issues of public and private policy that it raises.

Harvard University

JAMES P. BAUGHMAN

PAINTING IN TEXAS: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Pauline A. Pinckney*. Introduction by *Jerry Bywaters*. (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth. 1967. Pp. xx, 232. \$15.00.)

BARTLETT'S WEST: DRAWING THE MEXICAN BOUNDARY. By *Robert V. Hine*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 19.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press for the Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth. 1968. Pp. xv, 155. \$12.50.)

ALTHOUGH quite different in format and style, these two books are somewhat similar in that they contain reproductions of sketches and paintings relating to southwestern themes. The first presents 117 black-and-white representative works by nineteenth-century Texas artists and 12 in color. The subjects range from portraits of famous and not so famous Texans to landscapes, historical scenes, and still life. A few of the selections are by such well-known artists as George Catlin, John James Audubon, and Seth Eastman, who barely set foot in frontier Texas. Mostly, however, they represent the works of amateurs, itinerant painters, and untrained professionals.

These men and women expressed themselves in many different mediums, and, like most artists of the period, they were realists. They came to early Texas from England, Germany, the southern states, and New England. Some of the later ones were native-born who studied in Dresden, Paris, or London. Few of the more than fifty individuals have previously received mention in exhibitions or in writings on American painting and painters, and their works have remained relatively unknown.

Pauline A. Pinckney has done an excellent job of rescuing from complete obscurity several pioneer painters bypassed by fame and fortune and of evaluating their lives and works. Some of their originals are on exhibit at the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, whose cooperation and financial support made the publication of this valuable piece of Texana possible.

Bartlett's West contains art work of a much superior technical quality, even though most of the 56 reproductions are by one man—John Russell Bartlett. About one-third of the illustrations are in color and are scenes from the Mexican boundary survey, 1850–1853. Bartlett was a New England bookseller who considered himself primarily a scientist and artist, but he dabbled in many fields, particularly ethnology and anthropology, and deserves to be ranked as something besides a mere dilettante.

Bartlett's Quotations and *Personal Narrative* have endured for decades, the first almost indispensable to professional speechwriters and the second to western historians and vicarious explorers. Bartlett lived for eighty-one years, but he is primarily remembered for the three of those years that encompassed his work as chief commissioner for the United States marking the southern boundary of New Mexico after the Mexican War. Historians have generally treated him shabbily for real and unavoidable mistakes made on the survey. Robert V. Hine obviously is impressed with the work that Bartlett did accomplish under trying circumstances, and he does much to erase the image of a bumbling political accident by which Bartlett got into one field too many, namely surveying.

The author's narrative that accompanies the illustrations is written in a clear

and concise style that summarizes Bartlett's personal career, political frustrations, and contributions to art, literature, and science.

University of Toledo

W. EUGENE HOLLON

REDEEMER NATION: THE IDEA OF AMERICA'S MILLENNIAL ROLE.

By *Ernest Lee Tuveson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 238. \$6.75.)

THIS discerning and provocative book is the best study we have that attempts to show the dominance of religious elements in the development of the idea of an American mission. Although the author admits the operation of other factors, he contends that "surely" the idea of the United States as a redeemer nation "must be religious in origin."

He finds the kernel of this idea in the widespread adoption of the millennialism of the Book of Revelation. Here he sees recorded dramatic prophecies of a great conflict in which the forces of the Whore of Babylon (the Roman Church-state complex) are routed, followed by a millennium, or one-thousand-year reign of Christ on earth. The author says that this conception prevailed until the time of St. Augustine who pushed it aside and postponed the triumph of the City of God until after the Resurrection. Augustinian influence predominated until the Reformation awakened an interest in literal interpretation of the Scriptures. Soon the conviction developed that a utopia of justice and peace was a definite possibility. A series of struggles waged in accordance with a divine plan would result in successive defeats for the Prince of Darkness and usher in a new world order. As the instrument of such a triumph it appeared that some people or nation specifically chosen by God would be necessary. By the nineteenth century no nation seemed more clearly cast for this role than the United States, with its conquest of a wilderness, its mastery over "benighted" peoples, and its proud array of free institutions. This image was adopted by millions of Americans, including, according to the author, "a majority of the Trinitarian Protestants of the United States."

The foregoing version of intellectual history is fascinating, but it seems to leave out important considerations. Most important, the American idea of mission was, in large measure, secular. It was not simply the work of clergymen but of racists, nationalists, and economic expansionists. Professor Tuveson recognizes this, but he gives it insufficient attention. The expansionists of 1812 were not noted for piety; nor were many of the expansionists of 1898. Senator Beveridge, on the outbreak of war with Spain, pronounced the American people "a conquering race" who must obey their blood and "occupy new markets and new lands." William Allen White also glorified an imperial destiny for America because Anglo-Saxons were "the best blood of the earth" and could alone govern themselves.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

EDWARD McNALL BURNS

UNQUIET EAGLE: MEMORY AND DESIRE IN THE IDEA OF AMERICAN FREEDOM, 1815-1860. By *Fred Somkin*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 233. \$5.95.)

It seems to take about a decade for a novel thesis or method to become a standard option. Reading Fred Somkin's bright, free-flowing essay on the American search for self-definition after the passing of its founders, one recalls only with some effort how recently the new popular *Kulturgeschichte* reached academic respectability in the United States under the influence of Henry Nash Smith (literary myth and symbol), Daniel Boorstin (the common sense of everyday life), and other inventive scholars. Similarly, the counterpoint of progress and nostalgia, civilized convention and natural innocence, which seemed so striking just a few years ago in fresh interpretations of nineteenth-century American politics and literature, can serve Somkin as a ready point of departure. His unquiet eagle, rushing through space and time, suffers quite naturally from acrophobia.

The study is designed to recapture a state of mind and feeling shared by Americans of all degrees and kinds (outside the South) during the half century of heady progress after the Peace of Paris of 1815. Somkin summons poets and preachers, editors and politicians, historians and storytellers—a mixed company of the high-, the middle-, and the low-brows of the country—to represent and explain a common cultural crisis: “The somewhat sudden and apparently permanent prosperity brought to sharp realization the divisive and centrifugal tendencies of a social momentum which was in danger of losing vital contact with the still-revered ideals of a past essentially communal.” The “idea of American freedom” is found in the articulate response of a free people to the consequences of their condition. Opposing forces of “memory and desire” (April in “The Waste Land”?) pull the nation forward into the boundless space and time of modernity, and backward toward “a time-defying union with the virtuous past.”

Three long chapters explore the problematic commitment of Americans to material progress and, in consequence, to the future and to the conquest of space. If progress and its correlates dominated the American mind, Somkin argues, they stirred strong undercurrents of doubt and fear. Indeed, symbols of catastrophe, the volcano and the comet, “helped to make clear the implications of freedom, and called attention to the fact that true freedom involved the obligation to act against a background of peril and contingency.” In quieter ways, Somkin next proposes, Americans found a sense of security and continuity in memories of their origins. La Fayette's triumphal progress through the states in 1824-1825 released a flood of gratitude, nostalgia, and self-congratulation: “Looking back with a stabbing sense of loss, the nation pressed Lafayette to its heart in a last communion with its youthful self.” Once the living revolutionary witnesses were gone, history, notably Bancroft's volumes, assumed the burden of reviving the American past as a providential demonstration of disinterested popular virtue: “Bancroft assured the American ‘man against the sky’ that he had never, after all, left home.”

Writing with boldness and verve, Somkin gives a persuasive impression of his highflying Americans who begin to long for firm moral ground. If the author's own boundaries of time and space sometimes grow blurred, and if his subject

sometimes seems to dangle in thin air between the world of hard experience and the world of clear ideas, these are perhaps the normal costs of taking on the most slippery of historical tasks: reconstructing the consciousness of a nation. In this enterprise a scholar is judged not by the questions he settles but by the possibilities he opens.

Brandeis University

MARVIN MEYERS

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD. By *Glyndon G. Van Deusen*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 666. \$12.50.)

WITH this full-scale reassessment of Seward, Professor Van Deusen completes his comprehensive analysis of the New York Whig triumvirate. His earlier studies of Thurlow Weed (1947) and Horace Greeley (1953) present contrasting political personalities: Weed, the clever but cautious professional with his weather eye fixed on Seward's future; Greeley, forever crusading, always embattled, frequently misled, "often wrong in regard to political policies and procedures." Now Seward takes a slightly elevated place in the center as the complete politician who combines, somewhat paradoxically, the mercurial idealism of the editor with the acute circumspection of his manager and attempts, not altogether successfully, to fulfill their conflicting demands. The present biography offers a detailed account and a dispassionate appraisal of that attempt. "Politicians of the Seward stripe," the author explains in the first of an extended series of comments that punctuate his leisurely account, "act from a mixture of motives. They have a real desire to serve the people, to make the country a better place than they found it. They are aggressive by nature, and at the same time seek to bolster self-esteem by political activity. Gamblers by instinct, they are fascinated by the element of chance in a political contest. They covet power and, if convinced that a given political course rides the wave of the future they will be loyal to it, even though its triumph may be of dubious social value. But they are reluctant to commit themselves to a cause the success of which is doubtful, and once convinced that it has outlived its usefulness they abandon it without reluctance."

Thus conceived, Seward's political behavior, first as governor, then as senator, and finally as Secretary of State, becomes entirely predictable, and his long public career seems simply a variation on the familiar Whig theme. Like Webster, Seward dreamed of technological utopia and preached a quantitative version of American promise—more railroads, bigger markets, continental and commercial expansion, prosperity for all. Like Clay, he deprecated abstractions even though recognizing the occasional utility of such phrases as "higher law" and "irrepressible conflict." By temperament he was a conservative. Opposed to slavery in principle, he scrupulously avoided identification with the abolitionists. He supported what he privately admitted was a "bastard" Mexican War. His speeches during the crisis surrounding the Compromise of 1850 testified as much to his hopes for political advancement in an awakened North as to the strength of his liberal convictions. Thereafter he fought tenaciously and ingeniously to hold the middle ground against extremists from both sections, but in so doing betrayed an unwarranted optimism and a dangerous disregard for the force of principles. Like most conservatives, he performed best within limits prescribed by others: his

most important work was accomplished as a wartime Secretary of State. He remained loyal to Johnson to the very end and refused to discard his conservative strategy for reuniting the country even when it was clear that reunion on his terms meant reaction. Supplied with the Whig premises on which Seward operated, we encounter few surprises in his long career.

A second and more interesting feature of Seward the complete politician was his essential loneliness. The author shows in a particularly striking way the personal cost of Seward's total absorption in politics, estrangement from a wife unwilling to compete with the rewards of power, constant misunderstandings with friends and associates unable to fathom the intricacies of his maneuverings, and only the grudging respect of a larger American public inclined to judge his attempts at compromise as surrenders to situation. The best parts of this biography depict the obsessed politician who counts his personal losses yet remains driven by a love for the public life.

Was Seward a great statesman? Van Deusen's verdict, based as it is on meticulous research and stated with magisterial equanimity, is necessarily qualified. Self-centered, egotistical, ridden by a consuming ambition, in love with the game of politics, Seward lacked the moral wholeness of the great political leader. His first-rate diplomatic talents were best exercised in the Department of State where Lincoln's controlling vision provided the larger definitions that he himself lacked. "A significant measure of his achievement is that, while the nation was wracked by the damage of civil war and reconstruction, its standing with other nations in no wise diminished." If this biography seems to restate Frederic Bancroft's interpretation of the "paradoxical Seward," it is nevertheless a more meaningful reading of that paradox, which, in accounting for Seward's failure to combine power and principle, says a good deal about the limitations of the Whig mind so familiar to the author.

Brown University

JOHN L. THOMAS

CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM: WOMEN OF THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT. By *Alma Lutz*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1968. Pp. 338. \$7.50.)

ALTHOUGH more scholarly books and articles are examining the role of women in American history from an analytical and relatively dispassionate point of view, some works on this subject continue to be written, not primarily to sift and winnow, but rather to glorify or dispraise, to expound a moral or plead a cause. In *Crusade for Freedom*, Alma Lutz celebrates the contributions made to the anti-slavery movement by such reformers as Elizabeth M. Chandler, Prudence Crandall, Lucretia Mott, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman, and Abby Kelley Foster, holding up their almost superhuman qualities and intrepid activities for the admiration of her readers. Demonstrating afresh the degree to which ante bellum feminism and Garrisonian abolitionism were closely intertwined, she laments that the legislative achievements of the Reconstruction period did not apply to women as well as to the former slaves and strongly urges the passage of a constitutional amendment, now before Congress, which would guarantee equality under the law regardless of sex.

While the book represents a distinctly tendentious style, it does, nevertheless,

constitute a superior example of the type. It is smoothly written, well organized, and based upon diligent research in a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, including the major manuscript collections that relate to its chief protagonists. Although the author's tendency to document only direct quotations leads her to footnote carefully such ultrafamiliar statements as Garrison's "I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD," while occasionally failing to indicate the sources of less well-known material, her gleanings have resulted in some fresh, unhackneyed information that will interest students of social reform. Perhaps inadvertently, a few scattered items relating to figures like Maria Weston Chapman and Abby Kelley Foster actually reveal some of the less attractive traits that may sometimes be possessed by the "true believer." In general, the predispositions that color the study and the preachments it contains, whether stated or implied, are so obvious as to disarm criticism and render superfluous any warnings that might otherwise be raised about the need for due care in its use. It may inspire some of its readers to "go and do likewise," which, if I have understood it correctly, is the author's primary intent.

State University of New York, Buffalo

W. DAVID LEWIS

THE PANTARCH: A BIOGRAPHY OF STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

By *Madeleine B. Stern*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xviii, 208. \$6.00.)

STEPHEN Pearl Andrews belonged to that species of nineteenth-century American eccentric which is easy to admire but difficult to understand. After a conventionally responsible and enterprising youth spent as schoolmaster and lawyer, Andrews was transformed by his fortieth year into an architect of utopias, a familiar of anarchists, and an associate of the prophets and practitioners of free love. He was tirelessly and tiresomely intellectual. For decades he elaborated in print his proposals for a universal society, the "Pantarchy," and spun out increasingly opaque theories designed to unify all knowledge. These efforts culminated in *The Basic Outline of Universology* (1872). Exactly what this *summa* consisted of, his biographer cannot say because, she explains, Andrews veiled his ideas "in all but impenetrable mist." That is, he did not write clearly. Since even Andrews' biographer finds his writings incomprehensible, it is no surprise to learn that he eventually lost contact with any public beyond a tiny circle of persons as bizarre as he was. He declared near the end of his life that, as the "Pantarch," he was the reincarnated Christ. So far as the world cared, Andrews' most important activities had been the introduction to America of Pitman shorthand and an effort to promote compensated emancipation in the republic of Texas.

As this book demonstrates, Andrews represents the tragedy of a mighty intellect that was short-circuited. It is not that he spent his life advocating unpopular causes or that he addressed himself to arcane pursuits; it is rather that he became utterly absorbed in what were essentially private intellectual games. He never understood this. It was harmless activity, but he was fatuous enough to suppose that his hobby mattered to others, that it had cosmic sig-

nificance. Why this happened to Andrews and whether his fate has implication for an understanding of American social and intellectual history, a future biographer may venture to explain.

This book is solidly based on Andrews' papers and his published works. It is otherwise less substantial. Had the author approached her subject and history itself differently, she would hardly have credited Andrews with being "one of the founders of the early abolition movement," which he was not; nor would she have speculated that if only he had succeeded in delivering a certain speech in 1843, "the whole great chain of events, from the annexation of a slave state to the Mexican War, from the Compromise of 1850 to the Civil War itself, might have been altered and the country's history rewritten."

Ohio State University

MERTON L. DILLON

NOW YOU HEAR MY HORN: THE JOURNAL OF JAMES WILSON NICHOLS, 1820-1887. Edited by *Catherine W. McDowell*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967. Pp. xvi, 212. \$7.50.)

JAMES Wilson Nichols entered Texas with his family in 1836 while only sixteen and thus lived through some of the most exciting days in the history of the Lone Star Republic and State. The teacher who was responsible for the young Nichols' only formal learning, upon hearing of his pupil's many narrow escapes, recommended that he "aught to keep a memorandum of all the noted incidences and if my after life was as eventful as my early life I would be able to write an interesting book when I got old, and I commenced to keep a journal of my life noting down all the incidences as they would occur and kept it up and now I write from this memorandum book or journal."

His later life was undoubtedly even more exciting than his early life had been, but, unfortunately, he did not sit down to write formally until he was sixty-seven years old. His reason for doing so then possibly stemmed from his Union sympathies during the Civil War, wherein he found himself disagreeing with the presentations of others. He accuses some writers of having "so perverted the facts and written so many absurdities that I have been constrained to write this book in self-defence, not from memory alone but from notes taken at the time and place." In another passage, Nichols claims that "Chin music goes a long ways with some of the later writers."

This skillfully edited book further illuminates many aspects of Texas history and has enough explanatory footnotes that even a reader unacquainted with the details of that state's history will find it meaningful. Most of the book is written from the author's own experiences, but some passages, especially those near the conclusion, are merely hearsay and might better have been omitted. Even with this shortcoming, however, no library in western Americana should be without this work. Nichols has a natural flair for describing events in an interesting fashion so that the work can be profitably read for entertainment alone.

California State College, Fullerton

WARREN A. BECK

WILLIAM MONTAGUE BROWNE: VERSATILE ANGLO-IRISH AMERICAN, 1823-1883. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 328. \$7.50.)

WILLIAM Montague Browne was an editor on the staff of the New York *Journal of Commerce* from about 1852 to 1859, chief editor and owner of the Washington *Constitution* (later the Washington *Union*) from 1859 to January 1861, an aide-de-camp to Jefferson Davis, and director of conscription in Georgia during the Civil War. After the war Browne edited the *Southern Banner* in Athens, Georgia, became a member of the Georgia bar, attempted farming on his acreage near Athens, involving himself, not too successfully, in the life insurance business, owned and edited an agricultural journal entitled the *Southern Farm and Home*, and, finally, became the first professor of history and political science at the University of Georgia, where he remained until his death in 1883. In brief, "versatile" is an apt word for Browne.

Although he became well known as an editor and, for a time, a politician, his background before he came to the United States is a mystery. Even the date of his arrival in New York City is uncertain, and what he did between the time of his arrival and his connection with the *Journal of Commerce* is unknown. Browne said he was born of English ancestry in County Mayo, Ireland, on July 7, 1823, and there is some evidence to support this statement. Nothing else, however, is known. Browne's editorial comments on European affairs indicate that he had traveled extensively. He also had read widely and continued to do so, and it is unlikely that many readers of American agricultural journals were as much exposed to copious reviews of books and periodicals dealing with history, literature, religion, and science as were the readers of the *Southern Farm and Home*. Interspersed with instructions on planting field peas, or advice on the use of fertilizers, were Browne's reviews of works by such authors as Wilkie Collins, Charles Darwin, and Thomas Henry Huxley.

Browne's significance, however, really lies in those aspects of his life and career that reflect the southern viewpoint, especially during the secession period, the insight afforded the conscription problems in Georgia during the war, and the difficulties in achieving economic survival during the immediate postwar years. These facets of his life are skillfully presented and constitute a useful contribution to the history of the era.

New York, New York

J. J. HESLIN

DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Volume III, SEPTEMBER 1829-FEBRUARY 1831; Volume IV, MARCH 1831-DECEMBER 1832. INDEX. Marc Friedlaender and L. H. Butterfield, Editors. THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series 1, DIARIES. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. li, 431; xvii, 502. \$25.00 for the two volumes.)

In the first two volumes of the *Diary*, the most significant entries concerned Charles Francis Adams' self-searchings and his success in finding himself despite periodic depression and lack of confidence. Now, in Volumes III and IV, readers are given an opportunity to observe Adams' day-to-day development as he follows a supremely logical course of independent study and steady

intellectual growth stemming from a sound academic background and a healthy measure of self-reliance.

Adams in his early and middle twenties had a unique assortment of advantages. He was not only the son and grandson of Presidents; he was also the happy husband of a charming young woman who was at once his devoted wife and the daughter of one of the Jacksonian era's wealthiest New Englanders. To employ the vernacular of our day, the bridegroom of 1829 "had a great deal going for him" in the next three years. A member of the Boston bar, he allocated less time to his profession than to relatively routine family business and was free to spend many hours in well-organized reading of books, articles, and speeches that particularly attracted him.

Troubling complexities and lingering doubts are reflected in such entries as: "My ambition seems to have lost it's tone, my mind it's hopes. I look to the future with some dread"; and "I am nothing, and shall be nothing, but a daudle[r] over trifles." On the other hand, referring to Daniel Webster's "magnificent way" of presenting a case, "I would give much to possess it— And why not try? The field is open to the bold, the persevering and the brave. I am conscious of some power that way." Also, "humbled" by the indifference with which his newspaper articles were received, "yet I feel as if my style was not without power and that it ought to take better. Perseverance may effect what any amount of skill cannot." Pessimism is progressively modified, and gloom relieved, on the last three hundred pages of Volume IV.

Unquestionably the love, companionship, and very nature of Adams' wife contributed appreciably to his clearer outlook and improved spirits. So did the birth of their first child in the summer of 1831. Although Mrs. Adams and the baby were sometimes ill, their ailments fortunately did not become critical; thus joys derived from the family circle had a far more telling effect than conjugal and paternal worries. Complementing the values that he found in domesticity were studies that quickly became integral. Adams' reading, both broad and deep, acquainted him with the works of many major writers and some minor ones, probably sharpening his style as well as his perspective. Plato, Aristotle, Aristophanes, Shakespeare, Racine, Milton, Montaigne, Pope, Gibbon, Samuel Johnson, Horace Walpole, and Tom Moore were among the authors whose prose and poetry Adams perused. He carefully analyzed Cicero and Demosthenes; repeatedly turned to *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*; read American history from John Winthrop on; retained the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages; developed Spanish and Italian, and vigorously disciplined himself.

Adams the man as well as Adams the student evolves from the *Diary's* absorbing pages. Some of his comments are ever so human: "Read the rest of Dryden's Hind and Panther. A religious discussion. I became drowsy over it"; Ralph Waldo Emerson "delivered rather a remarkable sermon about the spirit and its nature. It seemed to me . . . that he had not very permanently fixed what his idea was of the thing and therefore he talked about what he did not himself perfectly comprehend"; "Washington, Jefferson and my Grandfather were the three most remarkable men of our Revolution. . . . Jefferson's mind was of a very capacious character, his temper philosophical, and his personal feelings kind. But he was ambitious, hypocritical and occasionally un-

generous, besides a narrowness of mind and inveteracy of prejudice peculiar to himself. He was more than a match for my impetuous, irascible but open hearted ancestor."

What of Charles Francis Adams' future roles as free-soiler, vice-presidential nominee, congressman, diplomat par excellence, and presidential possibility? If one searches sufficiently for signs of things to come, they may be detected. Some interpreters conceivably will make much, indeed too much, of political promise related to his Antimasonic tendencies, to the relatively few anti-Jacksonian references, to Adams' cursory interest in local politics, and to his acute awareness of family strengths and limitations. More important is the fact that he deliberately chose to do certain fundamental things, including the arranging of John Adams' papers, which equipped him to excel in a choice of careers. When 1832 came to an end, the diarist was both on his way and fully qualified to proceed in any of several right directions.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

THE CHILD AND THE REPUBLIC: THE DAWN OF MODERN AMERICAN CHILD NURTURE. By *Bernard Wishy*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1968. Pp. x, 205. \$6.95.)

EXAMINING attitudes toward child rearing from 1830 to 1900, Wishy considers the preparation of the child for the challenges and uncertainties of American life as the major theme of his study. He relates the evolution of the modern child-centered society both to the American dream of success and to the ethical ideal of just rewards for the virtuous and the able. Amid the expanding opportunities of the Jacksonian era social reformers appealed to citizens "to save their children from the sins and errors undermining the republic." Competition in this mobile society had inevitably begun to generate conflicting values for responsible citizens as Americans agonized over how to determine the right guidelines for the young. Fundamental questions of concern to contemporary educators and parents plagued their predecessors of more than a century ago, for the sense of responsibility that Americans now assume for the achievements and failures of younger generations had emerged by 1830.

The nineteenth-century development of "progressive" views of children reflected basic alterations in Americans' religious, ethical, and scientific assumptions. The author provides excellent evidence of what is well known: that, by 1830, the Calvinist conception of the child born in sin was receding before the more optimistic notion of "the child redeemable," and, by 1900, the intellectual emphasis had shifted significantly to the promise of "the child redeemer." Yet the erosion of rigid, authoritarian principles of child training in favor of flexible, tolerant approaches to the young did not occur without the creation of internalized pressures indirectly but purposefully imposed by parents. And to judge by the author's discussion of James's *What Maisie Knew*, the child of 1900, unlike his predecessor of 1830, had no notion from his parents of what was right and wrong. Despite inward uncertainties the earlier generations of parents had at least imparted standards of behavior based on clearly defined moral principles upon which, they still assumed, the well-being of the nation depended.

Relativism of standards for children was furthered in the early twentieth century, moreover, by the different responses of experts to the changing composition of American society. Such social observers approached child rearing practices with different sets of rationalizations for the rich and the poor, for the native and the immigrant. Utilizing evolutionary theory to justify acceptance of the natural impulses of children of established families, they argued that the environment in the homes of these native Americans was safe for enlightened upbringing. In significant contrast, however, specialists deplored the hereditary tendencies of poor immigrants and believed that they could only perpetuate generations of delinquents in the urban slums. To counteract the natural impulses of such children it was intended that the public school would supplant the alien parents as the prime influence in shaping the character of second-generation Americans.

Treatment of these conflicting notions would have been enhanced by a comparison of pedagogical principles and practices in public and private schools. In addition, the influence of English patterns of thought in the training of upper-class children needs to be explained in contradistinction to the tenets of progressive educators and parents.

While many suggestive insights emerge in isolated form in *The Child and the Republic*, the presentation of its excellent ideas suffers, nevertheless, from the compression of historical connections, especially in relation to the responses of social groups. Finally, the chronology, 1830 to 1900, is somewhat arbitrary, leaving the regretful impression that this valuable study is far from complete.

Radcliffe College

BARBARA M. SOLOMON

ON THE WESTERN TOUR WITH WASHINGTON IRVING: THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF COUNT DE POURTALÈS. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by *George F. Spaulding*. Translated by *Seymour Feiler*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume LIV.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 96. \$4.95.)

DURING the summer of 1832, Count Albert-Alexandre de Pourtalès and his traveling companion, Charles Joseph Latrobe, brother of the famous Benjamin, accidentally met Washington Irving aboard a vessel sailing from France to the United States. Quickly sensing a common interest in travel and adventure, they formed a friendship that eventually led to the three, along with Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, the recently named Indian commissioner, undertaking a journey through the little-known Indian territory of Oklahoma. Departing from St. Louis on September 15, 1832, and arriving at Verdigris Trading Post, October 9, these four adventurers spent a month observing the strange landscape, the interesting flora, and the fascinating natives and their habits, as well as weathering the rough elements of nature in the Osage country of Oklahoma. Of the four, Pourtalès was the youngest and the most excited. Decked out as a perfect "frontier dandy," he often tried the patience of his more mature and cautious, though equally inexperienced, companions.

While the journals of this tour done by Irving, Latrobe, and Ellsworth have long since been published, the descriptions of Pourtalès were unknown until George F. Spaulding, a retired businessman, discovered them during a visit to

Munich in the summer of 1965. Although briefer and more sketchy, his account is distinguished from the others by an unusual and sensitive concern for the plight of the Indians whom he greatly admired for their generosity and hospitality. Despite the fact that his sometimes amusing and generally interesting account adds little new factual knowledge, the Count's youthful exuberance, his naïve sense of excitement, and his frequent allusions to classic references make it enjoyable reading.

Seymour Feiler, associate professor of modern languages at the University of Oklahoma, has ably translated these documents from the French, carefully retaining the author's sprightly style. In addition, Spaulding has adroitly pieced together journal and letters of Pourtalès to provide a sense of continuity, while, at the same time, his editorial comments are concise, germane, and accurate. By including sixteen appropriate and excellent illustrations and a detailed map of the tour, the University of Oklahoma Press has produced an attractive addition to its "American Exploration and Travel Series."

University of Houston

ROBERT V. HAYNES

HISTORY OF THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR, 1835-1842. By *John K. Mahon*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 387. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH there were only four thousand Seminoles in Florida by the early 1830's, they were sufficiently skillful fighters to involve the United States in a grueling seven-year war. This conflict was marked by many of the ingredients that have gone into most of the nation's wars: civil-military disputes, differences between regulars and citizen-soldiers, political interference, and charges of an immoral war. Before the Seminoles were finally hammered into submission and forced to move westward—the original cause of the uprising—a total of over ten thousand regulars (army, navy, and marines) and thirty thousand militia and volunteers had sought out the elusive red men, who fought a kind of guerrilla war from their villages in the steaming, nearly impenetrable Everglades and the surrounding regions. A succession of America's finest soldiers—Winfield Scott, Francis Pendleton Gaines, Thomas Jesup, Zachary Taylor, and others—tried their hand in Florida with results ranging from complete failure to modest success.

John K. Mahon, a mature scholar in the field of military history, tells this story well, always keeping his narrative within a broad framework of national developments and illuminating the social and political fabric of the Florida Territory; he includes a penetrating account of the origin and development of Seminole culture that rests upon the latest anthropological scholarship. His annotated bibliography, covering a multitude of sources, suggests that his research has been exhaustive, just as his conclusions are almost unfailingly sound. One might question, however, his contention that "to Americans war was, and is, abnormal." Americans may have mismanaged most of their wars in the early stages, but the frequency of our conflicts and our ever-present desire for total victory may lead to a different conclusion, one scarcely flattering to the American tradition. In any event, Mahon's volume has wrapped up the Second Seminole War for our generation; at the same time it points to the need for scholars to devote more attention to the wars against the forest Indians of the eastern United States.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

THE PORT OF HOUSTON: A HISTORY. By *Marilyn McAdams Sibley*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 246. \$6.75.)

FOLLOWING the celebration of Houston's fiftieth year as a deep-water port in 1964, the Port Commission arranged for Mrs. Sibley to prepare a "definitive" history of the port of Houston. The result is this scholarly, well-balanced, informative book. Although, under the circumstances, one would not expect muck-raking or "revelations," this book does not give the impression of being a "white-wash"; in the text there is recognition of the existence of complex questions that have risen during the history of the port and of significant differences of viewpoint as to their proper solution. Thus, this is not a one-sided "official" history but a well-rounded study of the subject.

Approximately the first half of the book deals with the years 1836 to 1875, the establishment of Houston and the slow development of navigation on Buffalo Bayou, which connected the town with Galveston Bay. The concept of deepening and straightening the bayou so that ocean-going vessels could easily come up to Houston, which is situated some fifty miles from the open sea, took form in the 1870's and became a reality in 1914. Since then the export of oil, cotton, wheat, and other commodities has placed Houston third among United States ports. Sibley's account of events during the fifty years after 1914 is not only concerned with cargo tonnage, channel dredging, and the improvement of port facilities, but also with the economic and political factors that these reflect and with the men and organizations responsible for the growth of the port of Houston.

The author holds a doctorate from Rice University and is assistant professor of history at Houston Baptist College. Her bibliography and footnotes indicate extensive use of the records of the port of Houston, the papers of men concerned with its growth, governmental and promotional publications, newspapers, and an impressive array of secondary works. Although her narrative is replete with well-selected detail, it is well organized and written so that the reader does not find himself overwhelmed by masses of statistics or turgid economic analysis. The reader may question whether a book of this length that was commissioned and written under such circumstances can be "definitive," but it does, nevertheless, merit a place of honor among the historical studies of American ports.

Pomona College

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

THE IMMIGRATION OF IDEAS: STUDIES IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. ESSAYS PRESENTED TO O. FRITIOF ANDER. Edited by *J. Iverne Dowie* and *J. Thomas Tredway*. [Augustana Historical Society Publication Number 21.] (Rock Island, Ill.: the Society. 1968. Pp. x, 214. \$5.95.)

THESE wide-ranging essays honor Professor Ander's thirty-five years of inspired teaching at Augustana College, Rock Island, and his highly productive research in American social and intellectual history. It focuses on the transit of ideas across the Atlantic and calls special attention to a lifelong interest in the migration of Swedes to America and their experiences in the New World. As the editors emphasize in adding short biographical and autobiographical essays, Ander's

own life, with its beginnings and formative influences in Sweden and its full development in an immigrant-influenced Middle West, is, in itself, a reflection of the theme that the contributors were asked to examine.

The Immigration of Ideas divides logically into two roughly equal parts, although the chapters are not arranged in this fashion. First, broad "Studies in the North Atlantic Community" deal with intellectual or religious interchanges of varied kinds. "On the Meaning of Faith in the Great Awakening and the Methodist Revival," by Ross Paulson, finds transatlantic influences in "shaping the evangelical *content* [as well as form] of revival theology." "High Churchmen in a Hostile World," by Thomas Tredway, interprets revivals of "churchly, sacramental, and historical awareness" movements in the Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches and indicates that they represent an "underlying continuity between medieval and reformed Christianity." "Edward Price Bell—Anglo-American Spokesman, 1914–1917," by Benedict Karl Zobrist, examines the role of the director of the Foreign News Service of the Chicago *Daily News* in reporting from London the British version of World War I and in explaining to the British public the position of the United States as a neutral power. James Iverne Dowie, in his "Wilson and Gladstone: Perils and Parallels in Leadership," maintains that both statesmen were "caught up in a tradition which permeated Western thought," a tradition that has "revolved around the mythical theme linking the City of God with the City of Man." Merle Curti adds a paper on "Sweden in the American Social Mind of the 1930s," which concentrates on the appeal to Americans of Marquis W. Childs's presentation of Sweden's "middle way."

The essays dealing specifically with Scandinavian immigration include Theodore C. Blegen's biographical study of O. E. Hagen, a gifted if somewhat eccentric pioneer Norwegian scholar in the Middle West, and another by Emory Lindquist of Ernst Skarstedt, one of the ablest journalists, historians, and poets among the Swedish-Americans. They also include a thoughtful paper by Carl Wittke on "Fissures in the Melting Pot," which concludes that the "ultimate loyalty [of the foreign-born] has been to their adopted country, despite emotional conflicts which many of their fellow Americans often failed to understand." Perhaps the most significant contribution to this generally superior *Festschrift* is Conrad Bergendoff's attempt, in an article on Augustana College, to come to grips with the complex subject of the "Swedish America" that emerged after the Civil War. He emphasizes the part played in its beginnings and in its nurture by the foreign-language press.

"Jacob Letterstedt and Nordic Cooperation," by Franklin Scott, does not quite fit into either category of the essays, but, in reviewing the career of a Swedish emigrant who lived much of his life in South Africa and who backed his beliefs with gifts of money in the interest of unity among the countries of Northern Europe, it appropriately calls to mind Ander's concern with Swedish history and his solid contribution to an understanding of the reign of Gustav V. The book also contains an impressive bibliography of Ander's published writings prepared by Ernest M. Espelie.

St. Olaf College

KENNETH O. BJORK

RADICALISM & REFORM: THE VROOMAN FAMILY AND AMERICAN SOCIAL THOUGHT, 1837-1937. By *Ross E. Paulson*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press for the Organization of American Historians. 1968. Pp. xxiii, 299. \$8.50.)

As radicals and reformers the Vrooman brothers were conspicuous, albeit appealing, failures. But then, it may be argued, so were the American radical and reform movements with which they were so thoroughly identified during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth. As agitators, organizers, and publicists, the Vroomans left their mark on Greenbackism, Marxian socialism, Bellamyism, Populism, Bryan Democracy, progressivism, educational and economic cooperation, and social gospel Christianity.

The five Vrooman brothers—Frank, Harry, Walter, Hiram Greeley, and Carl—were the sons of Hiram Perkins Vrooman, who moved his family from one dusty western boomtown to another in relentless quest of fortune and status. The elder Vrooman had run a political gamut that carried him from squatter sovereignty democracy, through Radical Republicanism, and ultimately to Greenbackism. For him the function of politics, in which he intensely involved himself, was to ensure equality of opportunity, less as an ideological abstraction than as an entrepreneurial conception wherein one was free to enter business competitively with no favors asked or granted.

“While all of the Vrooman brothers followed their father’s tattered banner of protest,” writes Professor Paulson, “each marched to his own martial music.” Three of them, Harry, Walter, and Hiram Greeley, were ardent socialists. Harry and Walter were active in the Socialist Labor party in its pre-DeLeon period, but, when the party gave indications of Marxist doctrinal rigidity, they left it for Bellamy nationalism and Christian Socialism. Frank and Carl, the eldest and youngest of the brothers, respectively, were reformers rather than radicals. Frank preferred to operate through instrumental Christianity while, for the most part, Carl sought social betterment through orthodox politics, first as a Kansas Populist and Bryan Democrat and then as a supporter of the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson in whose administration he served as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

A strong religious leitmotiv characterized the activities of the Vrooman brothers, three of whom—Frank, Harry, and Hiram Greeley—were Protestant clergymen, although, not surprisingly, of different denominations. All of the brothers were convinced that they could effect a moral reconstruction of society, and for this purpose they organized, either individually or jointly, a dozen or more social uplift and economic cooperation movements. These had such appropriate names as the Union for Concerted Moral Uplift, the Union for Practical Progress, the Multitude Incorporated, the People’s Trust of America, and the Co-Workers Fraternity. None lasted long, and one, at least, was financially disastrous.

The Vroomans were not without some success. Walter merits recognition, currently denied him, as founder of the Ruskin Hall movement, an undertaking financed by his wife’s money. Walter married well, as did Carl, and consequently each had financial independence. But money, which he managed badly, also proved the undoing of Walter, the most flamboyant of the five. Following the

failure of one of his economic and educational cooperatives, he ended up in a mental hospital and died shortly thereafter.

With great skill Paulson has woven the lives of the Vroomans, who among other things were an amazingly mobile group, into the greater tapestry of the American radical and reform movements. The scholarship of this book is exceedingly thorough; the writing is above average, and the analysis of the nature of American radicalism and reform is provocative. Quite understandably, the OAH awarded the author its Frederick Jackson Turner Prize in 1967. One complaint, and this is with the publisher and not the author: why are there no illustrations?

University of Massachusetts

HOWARD H. QUINT

JOHN RUSKIN AND AESTHETIC THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1840-1900.

By *Roger B. Stein*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 321. \$8.95.)

DURING the latter half of the nineteenth century Ruskin's writings were enormously popular in the United States. What were the extent and intensity of his influence? Why was the American response so enthusiastic? And what do the answers to these questions say about the state of the American sensibility and about "certain larger issues of nineteenth-century intellectual history: the meaning of nature, the role of religion in a changing society, and, most important, the place of art in a new democracy"? With admirable clarity, Professor Stein thus defines the topic of his monograph and places it among the growing number of studies of the influence of foreign critics—studies such as John Henry Raleigh's *Matthew Arnold and American Culture*.

Focusing on a middle ground between popular culture and aesthetic theory, which he calls aesthetic thought, the author demonstrates conclusively that a remarkable number of painters, architects, poets, writers, religious leaders, and even scientists not only read Ruskin but attempted to implement his ideas in their lives. This reception of the English critic, he argues, was in part because he helped resolve two central conflicts within the American romantic imagination: the metaphysical conflict between the rigid dualism of orthodox Christianity and the pantheism of transcendentalism; and the epistemological conflict between Lockean empiricism and Emersonian intuitionism. For Americans fearful of materialism on the one hand and idealism on the other, of being barred from spiritual insight by sensationalist psychology on the one hand or being committed to nature worship on the other, Ruskin seemed at once an inspired and a prudent guide. The touchstone of "truth to nature" was quite acceptable if you did not stop with Thoreau, but went on with Ruskin to make nature, and art, subservient to the truths of religion. With the growing dominance of science, Ruskin's theistic appropriation of nature and the arts became less and less defensible. Well before the end of the century his popularity had waned, and his theories were under sustained attack by artists, art critics, and scientists.

My major reservation with this study has to do with what may be regarded as one of its virtues. The evidential foundation is massive, extensive, and carefully constructed. But in the effort to assemble and present every stone of Ruskin's influence, the larger questions tend to disappear or be weighted down by the de-

tails. For example, might not Ruskin's pathological approach to his own body and his exaggerated fears of sensuality in general have been one reason for the alacrity with which Americans adopted him as an authority? Let me be specific: I am suggesting that the author might have profitably probed for the possible interrelationships between Ruskin's sick approach to sex and the nature of his transatlantic reception. Ruskin, after all, enjoyed the peculiar position of being a puritan art critic; Americans were seemingly casting about for a safe approach to culture and its threateningly sensuous expressions.

Finally, let me introduce a minor reservation: in spreading his net widely for every possible influence, sometimes the author comes up with catches that are undersize. He thinks it not merely fanciful, for instance, to see in Louis Sullivan's ornaments a revitalization of the plates of *The Stones of Venice*. Perhaps, though Sullivan's well-worn copy of Gray's *Botany* was a more likely source, especially for an author who warned young architects against "The howling of the vast and general horde of Bedlamites./The purring of the select company of Ruskinites."

These reservations do not constitute an indictment; Stein's essay advances our understanding of the response to Ruskin and is an important preliminary chapter for his projected history of aesthetic thought in nineteenth-century America.

Bucknell University

RICHARD DRINNON

QUEST FOR EMPIRE: THE POLITICAL KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE COUNCIL OF FIFTY IN MORMON HISTORY. By *Klaus J. Hansen*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1967. Pp. 237. \$6.50.)

ONE of the most secret of the Mormons' *sub rosa* organizations was the Council of Fifty, which Joseph Smith set up in 1842 as the instrument of the political kingdom of God on earth. Under the Prophet it acquired great power and got even more after his murder in 1844. Its members dominated the first legislatures and most other institutions of Utah, at least until the 1860's. Publicly it was not supposed to exist, and some of its diary keeping members made crude attempts at disguise when referring to it: a favorite was YTFIF.

Almost all of the official records of the council were unavailable to the author, who, however, assures the reader that "their existence cannot be doubted" (a veiled allusion to the church historian's office?). It would be difficult enough to write this first history of the council, given the historical veil of secrecy and the unavailability of official records. But also, throughout Mormon history, there is a kind of hidden rhetoric that can be understood only by expert reading between the lines or by distinguishing the "true" statement from the "public" one.

The author was quite aware of these serious problems. One solution was to make his book short: of the 187 pages of text, little more than 100 are directly concerned with the activities of the council. Another solution was to exploit the wide range of rich primary sources available for Mormon history; though often indirectly related to the council, this material is more than ample for describing its activities.

Like many historians with a good topic, Mr. Hansen pushes his interpretation too far. It seems quite unlikely, for example, that Smith had planned the

council as early as 1830. And the thesis that the council was "by far the most important key to an understanding of the Mormon past" is certainly controversial; indeed, in one of his own background chapters the author himself makes a good case for millennialism as the "key."

Yet, Hansen has confronted his difficulties honestly and has afforded us, in this detailed and reliable account of the political kingdom, a better understanding of several items in Mormon history, such as the Prophet's seemingly bizarre decision to run for the presidency of the United States in 1844. Despite the author's penchant for "paradoxes," he has written clearly and well.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

MARIO S. DE PILLIS

LIFE IN TWO WORLDS: BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM SIHLER. By *Lewis W. Spitz*. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1968. Pp. 199. \$3.95.)

FOR far too long the large place of Lutheranism in American life has been obscured while the historians' spotlight has focused on Puritanism, revivalism, and the social gospel. It is past time to redress the balance, and a biography of the committed nineteenth-century conservative Lutheran leader, William Sihler, is, therefore, most welcome.

Sihler lived the first forty-two years of his long life in Germany and the last forty-two years in America, but, despite the volume's title, only nineteen pages are devoted to the Old World period. Dr. Spitz successfully and authoritatively sketches the religious and intellectual milieu of Sihler's youth. Yet, when in 1843 Sihler answered "the Macedonian call" to work among German immigrants in America, he is a stranger to us. Spitz's presentation of Sihler's exterior life is barely adequate; that of Sihler's interior life, very thin. We do not even know Sihler's physical appearance, the nature of a certain "nervous ailment," why he remained so long unmarried, or his relationship to his parents. (We may be thankful for the jacket photograph of the older Sihler, for at no point does the author describe his subject, a rather singular omission in a biography.) When the young Sihler experiences a conversion—that dramatic and sudden spiritual change when, as with a club, God struck him to the floor and clouted him with the hammer of His law—we scarcely know what to think. While conversion may never be totally explicable, Spitz, as a distinguished Luther scholar, surely knows that it need not be totally numinous.

In America Sihler joined Walther, Wyneken, and Krauth in the great enterprise of rescuing American Lutherans, then numbering hundreds of thousands thanks to immigration, from rationalism, Wesleyanism, and the unionizing or, as Sihler believed, capitulating tendencies of the Lutheran leader Schmucker—that is to say, from the complete domestication and Americanization of confessional Protestantism. Their labors did preserve the distinctive character of American Lutheranism, and its mighty Biblical and doctrinal heritage was not lost in the great American syncretizing pot.

We live in a postliberal age, and, having heard the words of the Niebuhrs, Barths, and Tillichs, we have a diminished admiration for nineteenth-century religious liberals and a heightened appreciation of the staunch upholders of the pure and undefiled faith of the historic Lutheran confessions. The trouble is

that a man like Sihler was wrong on so many social and intellectual issues facing America. For example, his *theological* premises, we are told, compelled him to defend slavery dogmatically. (Spitz's brief discussion of the churches and slavery is considerably out of date.) He was opposed to the emancipation of women, to the use of the English language in Lutheran schools and church services, to labor strikes, to pampering criminals, and the like. His own late marriage was with a girl twenty-eight years his junior.

Sihler was a major leader of American Lutheranism, one of the master builders of the Missouri Synod, a founder of schools and colleges, a faithful pastor, and a vigorous penman in defense of confessional Lutheranism. He was a "Puritan stalwart" in the New World as well as in the Old. Doubtless it is more of a commentary on me than on the author to say that if the Sihler depicted by Spitz helped save Lutheranism from Americanization, I would still not much care to live in a Zion of Sihlers or, more precisely, a Prussia of Sihlers.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

ROBERT MOATS MILLER

AN ARTIST ON THE OVERLAND TRAIL: THE 1849 DIARY AND SKETCHES OF JAMES F. WILKINS. Edited by *John Francis McDermott*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1968. Pp. xiv, 143. \$12.50.)

JAMES Wilkins, a little-known St. Louis painter, had a unique motive for following the long and arduous trail from Weston, Missouri, to the California diggings in 1849. He executed two hundred water colors, sketched from nature along the way, and later, in his studio, he enlarged and combined them into a lengthy, three-reeled painting on canvas. During 1850 and 1851 he successfully exhibited this immense "Moving Mirror of the Overland Trail" in St. Louis and in the Ohio River towns. The panorama is no longer extant, but we know that Tom Fitzpatrick, who had traveled much of the route as a mountain man and Indian agent, pronounced Wilkins' ambitious work "strictly accurate."

McDermott reprints the artist's own flowery description of the work that appeared in the notes for his lecture accompanying the exhibition of the panorama, reproduces fifty of Wilkins' original field sketches now in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the artist's overland diary in the Huntington Library.

Mindful of his grand design, Wilkins in his field sketches emphasizes the more distant features and omits foreground details. The sketches lack, consequently, the theatrical qualities of Bierstadt's landscapes which were based upon his travel over the same trail as far as the Rockies a decade later. Even though Wilkins' sketches of the well-known natural landmarks along the trail, such as Chimney Rock and the South Pass, may be recognizable pictures of these features, his rendering of mountains and other land forms tended to be amateurish compared with the precise landscapes created by the artists who accompanied the later Mexican Boundary, Pacific Railway, and Geological Surveys. His views of the forts—from Leavenworth to Bridger—along the way, which are of greater interest to the historian, are superior to his landscapes. His sketch of Fort Laramie, as it appeared in 1849, is Wilkins' most informative pictorial document.

The human factor, so lacking in his sketches, pervades his fascinating diary.

It is filled with details of day-to-day travels, incidents along the way, word pictures of the travails of the long journey. The editor's footnotes, carefully selected brief quotations from the diaries of other forty-niners who covered the same ground that summer, greatly enrich the text. A leading student of both the midwestern panorama and of travels in the trans-Mississippi West, John Francis McDermott has combined his experience and talents with those of Wilkins to provide a uniquely graphic and important addition to the voluminous literature on the California gold rush.

Smithsonian Institution

JOHN C. EWERS

THE TROUBLED FARMER, 1850-1900: RURAL ADJUSTMENT TO INDUSTRIALISM. By *Earl W. Hayter*. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1968. Pp. vii, 349. \$8.50.)

ALTHOUGH historians have studied farm problems and their proposed solutions in the second half of the nineteenth century, Professor Hayter suggests the need for greater attention to the more personal and technical aspects of the farmer's daily life. He feels that social forces produced by urbanism, mobility, science, and technology seriously challenged existing patterns of rural superstitious beliefs and practices by 1850. While many farmers enthusiastically endorsed the resulting innovations, every rural community also contained a group opposed to abandoning older ways of doing things. By concentrating on the vacillation, anxiety, nostalgia for the past, and the excessive credulity or gullibility of this latter group as revealed in its daily life, Hayter explores problems of rural life not ordinarily emphasized by other historical treatments. In Part One the author deals with the lively controversies concerning the dehorning of cattle, proper medical care for livestock, and the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine. In Part Two he discusses conflicts over fencing regulations, differences of opinion as to the proper types of fencing, and debates centering on justifiable means of eliminating ravages inflicted upon livestock by dogs. The third part contains the story of tramps, scamps, and swindlers in rural America and of how credulous farmers fell prey to promoters of horticultural humbugs, seed peddlers, and lightning rod salesmen. Part Four traces agricultural reaction to patent monopolies, with special emphasis on how the patent battles among manufacturers of barbed wire and driven wells affected the attitudes and welfare of farmers. By the 1880's government and other educational agencies had begun to offer farmers effective aid in meeting many of these problems and in making the necessary transition to life in the urban-industrial age.

The volume displays commendable research, especially in farm journals, and is well written. Parts of it have previously appeared as articles in historical journals, but the book also contains much new material. Hayter sees the problems discussed by him as contributing to the attitude of protest displayed by farmers during the period. His material will, moreover, be useful to other historians in evaluating problems with which they are concerned. His chapters on fencing, for example, provide excellent examples of ecological adjustments in their analysis of law and practice. On the other hand, while credulity and gullibility did undoubtedly exist among the farm population, Hayter's material shows that farmers

made a rapid and frequently a highly satisfactory adjustment to changing conditions. The question of excessive rural credulity needs to be measured against the extent and availability of scientific knowledge at the time and also against the credulity of the city dweller in the same period.

University of Missouri, Columbia

LEWIS ATHERTON

THE SLAVE SHIP *WANDERER*. By *Tom Henderson Wells*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. 107. \$5.00.)

Of the scores of American vessels engaged in the Atlantic slave trade in the late 1850's, the *Wanderer* must certainly rank as the most extraordinary, a position amply supported by Tom Henderson Wells's detailed, well-researched study of its voyage and the aftermath. Built in 1857 as a swift, lavishly appointed yacht for a wealthy New York sportsman, the *Wanderer* found its way into the slave trade the following year. A clandestine southern syndicate headed by Charles A. L. Lamar, a well-known Savannah fire-eater, purchased the ship, outfitted it as a slaver, and dispatched it to the west coast of Africa under the command of a Charlestonian named William C. Corrie. In September 1858 the *Wanderer* appeared at the mouth of the Congo, and Corrie and his officers, decked out in the uniform of the New York Yacht Club, spent several weeks assembling their cargo and entertaining local dignitaries, including the suspicious officers of a British patrol vessel. After eluding both British and American squadrons the *Wanderer* sailed from African waters in mid-October with almost five hundred slaves crammed into its tiny hold. Six weeks later, it put the 409 surviving members of its human cargo ashore at Jekyll Island, near Savannah, and an elaborate distribution system soon scattered the slaves inland. Although a federal investigation turned up most of the details of the *Wanderer*'s ownership and cruise, no convictions were ever obtained. Thus, according to Wells, the *Wanderer* carried out "the only successful large-scale slaving expedition to this country after 1820."

This last claim is a highly questionable one that the author need not have made; the *Wanderer*'s story is worth telling for many other reasons, particularly for what it reveals about the causes behind the lax enforcement of federal slave trade statutes. The problems, as Wells shows, began on the African coast and included, among many factors, a lack of cooperation between the British and American squadrons, American opposition to foreign search and seizure of US flag vessels, and the logistical difficulties involved in maintaining even the inadequate handful of American ships on slave patrol. When the government sought piracy convictions in southern district courts, federal attorneys faced hostile local opinion, uncooperative juries, and, frequently, hairsplitting decisions from the bench. Other historians, most recently Warren S. Howard in his *American Slavers and the Federal Law*, have made many of the same points, but Wells strengthens the indictment against America's halfhearted attempts to suppress the foreign slave trade.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the ship's story is illustrated by a boast made in May 1860 by the organizer and primary financier of the expedition. Following one of his several trials connected with the case, Charles Lamar wrote

that he could "whip the Government any time they make the issue, unless they raise a few additional regiments." His blustering but accurate statement says much about the feeble condition of federal authority in the South some five months before Lincoln's election.

Wells tells his fascinating story well. The rich material and the "dividend" themes present in the subject more than compensate for the narrow focus of this solid monograph.

University of Missouri, Columbia

CHARLES B. DEW

WAGES IN PRACTICE AND THEORY: McCORMICK AND INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER, 1860-1960. By *Robert Ozanne*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 181. \$7.50.)

RELIABLE data on wages and wage movements in the nineteenth century are scarce, as are supportable generalizations about the impact of unionism on wages in the post-Civil War period. This slim volume makes a major contribution to filling these voids while focusing on wage behavior at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company's Chicago plant (after 1902 a part of International Harvester Company) from 1860 to 1960. The book complements the same author's study of *A Century of Labor-Management Relations at McCormick and International Harvester*, which deals with the broad aspects of industrial relations.

The availability of company data afforded the author an unusual opportunity to analyze wage behavior and causal factors suggested by wage theory over a time span embracing seven periods of prosperity, four major depressions, and three major wars. He has made full and imaginative use of the opportunity, buttressing his findings by comparisons of the McCormick-International Harvester experience with data on national wage movements and on two competitor companies, one in and the other outside the Chicago labor market.

Within the constraints imposed by the data and the methodology, the major conclusion of this empirical research challenges some widely held beliefs about wage determination, especially in the nineteenth century. Professor Ozanne finds that unionism, as a fact or a threat at the McCormick plant, was relatively a more important factor in wage increases over one hundred years than the level of demand for the company's products, concentration in the product market, the productivity of labor, or even conditions in the labor market. A contribution of historical, as well as economic, importance is contained in the appendix devoted to wage differentials between skilled and unskilled labor. In addition to filling in factual gaps important to theorists, the McCormick Works data challenge the hypothesis that high-wage differentials characterize the early stages of industrialization.

This volume effectively melds interdisciplinary research with the use of company records that are too frequently overlooked. Historians will be impressed by Ozanne's concern for qualitative and noneconomic factors in his analysis of quantitative data; wage theorists have been shown new possibilities for empirical investigation. Above all, our knowledge of wage movements and their causes has been substantially increased by this painstaking investigation.

University of Maine

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON

ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *Frank E. Vandiver et al.* Introduction by *E. C. Barksdale*. Edited by *William F. Holmes* and *Harold M. Hollingsworth*. With a Webb Bibliography by *Margaret Francine Morris*. [The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Number 1.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the University of Texas at Arlington. 1968. Pp. 107. \$3.95.)

THIS small book contains five essays and a bibliography, loosely held together by association with the magic name, Walter Prescott Webb. Three of the essays are on various phases of the Civil War and were given as the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures at the University of Texas at Arlington in April 1966 by two staff members of that college and a visiting dignitary. The other two essays relate more directly to Webb: one is a paper he read at the inaugural luncheon of Arlington's new president in 1960; the other is an explanation of the Arlington lectures and some notes on Webb's interesting, if controversial, views about history and historians. The final feature of the book is a bibliography of all of Webb's written works.

The most significant essay in the book is by the visiting lecturer, Frank E. Vandiver, and entitled "The Civil War as an Institutionalizing Force." Vandiver, a recognized authority on the war, centers his interpretive views of that conflict on the theme that "The war itself has become an American institution. . . ." In his view the Civil War is indeed a watershed in American historiography, literature, and publicity. He presents a cogent argument for his thesis by showing the impact of the conflict on such American institutions and ideas as slavery, national union, constitutionalism, religion, states' rights, urbanism, and others. "Out of the crucible of that conflict," he writes, "came a new alloy of American institutions, an alloy tested and toughened for the challenge of world leadership."

Some historians will question this conclusion in light of the research and theories of Henry Steele Commager and Thomas C. Cochran, to name two dissenters to the view that the Civil War provides the central thrust in American history. But more immediately in these days of peace talks and frustration with war, Vandiver makes war too much a constructive force. Might not America's growth and development into an important world power have been even more substantial in an age of peace, fostering a policy of interregional cooperation and understanding?

The other two essays on the Civil War offer little of new substance to our knowledge of this much-researched historical event. The account of the Battle of Elkhorn is accurate, but does little more than rehash the *Official Records*. The study by John Robert Baylor is more important; the author shows how the conflicting views of southern planters and southern frontiersmen on Confederate Indian policy weakened the Confederacy in the Southwest. Unfortunately the author weakens his thesis by oversimplifying Jefferson Davis' views and also by using the Confederate President as a typical planter.

The one article by Webb gives humorous but serious advice to newly elected college presidents. The advice is universal, and indeed it still makes worthwhile reading for "all faculty members, boards of regents, and college administrators."

Historians will appreciate the establishment of a memorial to one of the

profession's most colorful figures. They will regret that the first lecture series did not concern itself more with Webb's own particular field of study, the American West.

Wittenberg University

ROBERT HARTJE

FREE BUT NOT EQUAL: THE MIDWEST AND THE NEGRO DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By *V. Jacque Voegeli*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 215. \$5.95.)

THE long and devastating Civil War forced many Americans, ultraconservatives among them, to reassess their attitudes toward the Negro. Such a reappraisal was particularly painful in the Midwest where white supremacist patterns were more firmly fixed than elsewhere in the North. In this study Voegeli presents a sound analysis of the considerations—military, political, and humanitarian—that brought about some modifications of this anti-Negro sentiment.

The Midwest responded to the outbreak of the war by becoming more oppressive in its treatment of its unwanted colored residents. But the war against the Confederacy soon came to embrace a companion war against its sustaining black arm—slavery. Sentiment for emancipation grew slowly but inexorably in the North, accompanied first by a belief that the freed slave could be colonized abroad, an early fetish of Lincoln's, and then by the chief executive's decision to put the slave to military use as a laborer and a soldier.

Initially cool toward emancipation measures and even more hostile toward the arming of the Negro, the Midwest reluctantly accepted both policies following Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July 1863. Taking advantage of this opening wedge, a corps of liberal clergymen and politicians in the Midwest began to plead for toleration of the black man. Their efforts were strengthened by the Negro himself as he served behind the lines and on the battlefield. In the presidential election of 1864 Lincoln's success in the Midwest indicated that the opposition to his Negro policies had lessened. The growing conviction of midwesterners that the freed slave would remain in the South, instead of joining them, also softened their outcries against emancipation. But while the Midwest accepted the freedom of the black man, it was far from ready to concede equality to him.

A study analyzing the racial attitudes of a bygone day is not the easiest of historical undertakings, but Voegeli comes out quite well. His research is thorough, especially in newspaper sources. In this respect he is even-handed, another of the book's assets, giving equal attention to Republican and Democratic organs of opinion. Voegeli's inclusiveness extends to the colored people, showing their efforts for self-improvement. The book's tone is calm, and the style is restrained, as though the story could stand on its own merits. And, in truth, Voegeli furnishes us with ample proof of the importance of the Negro issue in the Civil War. To the Lincoln administration, to the national political parties, and to the seven states of the Midwest, the role of the black population, present and future, was a fundamental, inescapable matter at hand, second in importance only to the war against the Confederacy, and not without its repercussions in that quarter.

Morgan State College

BENJAMIN QUARLES

STONEWALL JACKSON AS MILITARY COMMANDER. By *John Selby*. ([Princeton, N.J.:] D. Van Nostrand Company. 1968. Pp. 251. \$8.95.)

PROBABLY no American historian would think to attempt another study of Stonewall Jackson. What more could possibly be said about this odd genius of the Civil War? We have the classic military biography by G. F. R. Henderson, published in 1904, the detailed account of Jackson the general in *Lee's Lieutenants* by D. S. Freeman, and modern biographies by Burke Davis and Frank Vandiver. But we are now presented with a new study, and, significantly, it is by an English scholar, John Selby, a lecturer at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. English students of war have long admired and studied Jackson and apparently do not tire of writing about him.

Aside from expressing admiration of Jackson, Selby does not tell us why he was drawn to write an account of the man. He is explicit, however, in stating what kind of book he intended to write: a study along the lines of Henderson's work, a description and analysis of Jackson as a commander. He states also that he has found little factual material about Jackson that is new, but claims that for his purpose new material is not vital and that there is already enough knowledge about Jackson to form the basis for an assessment.

The book consists of brief descriptions of Jackson's battles and campaigns interspersed with comments on and criticisms of Jackson's generalship. The accounts of the battles are crisp and generally accurate and are made clearer by the inclusion of fifteen excellent maps designed by the author. Occasionally Selby repeats an old error, as when he ascribes Lincoln's decision to detain McDowell's corps at Washington on the eve of the Peninsula campaign to Jackson's appearance at Kernstown, when actually Lincoln acted because McClellan had failed to obey the President's injunction to leave enough men around the capital to make it safe. But usually Selby is abreast of the most recent and best scholarship on the war and incorporates it in his pages.

Moreover, his comments are usually intelligent, if not original. He repeats the criticism of previous writers that Jackson was too reticent about his plans, often leaving his subordinates ignorant of his purpose, and that he was an indifferent administrator or, as Selby puts it, a poor "man-manager." He also repeats the familiar praises of Jackson: "bold strategic ideas; bold but sound tactical planning and execution." His most original idea is that Jackson possessed an iron will that was linked to his religious faith, "a Faith which gives him rocklike confidence and impels him to convert and discipline his men in a manner other than military."

American readers of the book will find it interesting and stimulating, but, if they know anything about the Civil War, not particularly informative. English readers should find it fascinating.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

THE THIN DISGUISE: TURNING POINT IN NEGRO HISTORY. PLESSY V. FERGUSON: A DOCUMENTARY PRESENTATION (1864-1896). Edited and with an introduction by *Otto H. Olsen*. (New York: Humanities Press for A.I.M.S. 1967. Pp. 132. \$4.00.)

By a strange historical quirk, the critics of the 1954 school desegregation decisions

can find that their very same arguments are applicable to an earlier decision that they hold to be supreme truth. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was "a compound of bad logic, bad history, bad sociology, and bad constitutional law," according to Robert J. Harris, mimicking the detractors of the Warren Court.

Otto Olsen has edited a useful book on the earlier decision, taking the Harris quotation more or less as his text. His introduction sketches the developing segregation patterns in the South and points up the Court's emasculation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as protectors of the rights of Negroes. While Olsen's tone is harsh and his writing is not always clear, the message does come through: an accelerating and overriding belief by whites in the incapacity of the Negro, and their determination to write the incapacities into law. Olsen is indignant at the injustice that produced the *Plessy* decision, as was Justice Harlan in dissent. But moral outrage does not add perceptibly to understanding.

Since *Plessy v. Ferguson* is, according to Olsen, a "turning point in Negro history" and the capstone of white efforts to maintain segregation, it is fair to ask whether whites really did believe in Negro inferiority. Contrarily they might have believed in Negro capabilities and feared the consequences. It is quite apparent that the southern white resurgence in the late nineteenth century was marked by apprehensions of Negro political power; could it be that apprehensions of the black cultural and social potential, rather than a belief in the lack of potential, motivated the segregation stampede?

White supremacy, a phrase that Olsen uses frequently, becomes, then, not a boast but a goal. The purpose is to fabricate a power supremacy in order to protect and sustain what we now call the "establishment." Because of their abilities, expressed and latent, Negroes endangered the white establishment and had to be dealt with.

The documents included in the book vary in quality. Two letters to Albion Tourgée from L. A. Martinet are valuable in their account of a Negro leader trying to exercise influence on blacks and whites alike. Two briefs in behalf of Homer Plessy, the plaintiff, reveal the unsuccessful strategy that his lawyers, including Tourgée, used. Selected New Orleans newspaper editorials from 1865 document the shift in sentiment in that city on segregation, and, after the 1896 decision, a dozen editorials from across the country span the reactions from the white and Negro press. Justice Brown's decision and Harlan's dissent are also included.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

LESLIE H. FISHEL, JR.

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSISSIPPI. By William C. Harris. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 279. \$8.00.)

WILLIAM C. Harris has presented a long-needed, detailed study of Mississippi under presidential Reconstruction. He covers well those two years between the close of the Civil War and the passage of the Reconstruction Acts in 1867 which ended the rebuilding program of the President and turned the issue over to Congress.

Conditions at the time the war ended were most discouraging with the interior

of the state having reverted to frontier conditions, while crime and disorder were quite evident. The Union Army removed Confederate Governor Charles Clark from office, and President Andrew Johnson, in line with his policy of naming provisional governors in the southern states, appointed the qualified William L. Sharkey, a Unionist Whig, to that post. Sharkey, further carrying out President Johnson's program, called for an election by qualified voters of delegates to a state constitutional convention. The convention, upon assembling, was composed of a majority of Unionist Whigs, and the body, as required by Johnson, repudiated the ordinance of secession and abolished slavery. The convention also took action to put into operation the civil government of the state and provided for the election of state officers. Finally, the convention refused to discuss Johnson's suggestion that the franchise be extended to Negroes who could read and write and who owned \$250.00 worth of property.

Although the convention's work was ended, it was necessary for state and local officials to be elected in order that civil government could be resumed. In this election, a former Confederate brigadier, Benjamin C. Humphreys, who had been a Whig Unionist before the war, was elected governor. Whigs also won a majority in both houses of the state legislature. Two other Whigs, Sharkey, the recent provisional governor, and James Lusk Alcorn, were elected to the United States Senate.

The legislature that convened on October 16, 1865, met the problem of the presence of some 400,000 freedmen by the formulation of a Black Code. Among these measures was a civil rights act that included stringent provisions for contract labor, an apprentice law, and a measure making all unemployed freedmen subject to prosecution for vagrancy. Also the former slave was denied the possession of firearms by law. A futile effort was even made in the house of representatives to prohibit Negroes from migrating to Mississippi.

The Mississippi Black Code aroused a storm of protest in the North. Governor Humphreys refused, however, to recall the legislature, although General Oliver O. Howard, national head of the Freedmen's Bureau, ordered the civil rights provision prohibiting Negroes from leasing or renting lands in the country to be disregarded. Still, for the most part, the Black Code was doomed. The victory of the anti-Johnson Republicans in the congressional elections of 1866 was perhaps the chief reason for the modification of the civil rights act, while the apprentice law was repealed. Negroes still could not serve as jurors, but by the early winter of 1867 the legislature had provided for them to be tried in the same courts and subject to the same procedures and penalties as whites.

Mississippians had been pleasantly surprised by President Johnson's spirit of moderation, for the fundamental political structure of the state had remained unchanged. True the senators and representatives to Congress had not been accepted, and this resulted partially from their support of the President and the Democrats. Still the leading Whigs supported the national executive and his party by electing delegates to the national convention of conservatives meeting at Philadelphia in the summer of 1866. The Philadelphia convention did not, however, bring victory for Johnson and his party in the fall congressional elections. Political adjustments for Mississippians that occurred following this defeat in 1866 were more difficult to make than those of 1865. There was an eleventh-hour

attempt on the part of certain Mississippians to support the Radical victors in their program, and some twenty-three journals of the state urged an acceptance of the congressional program, while only six newspapers took the opposite stand. This did not prevent Mississippi from enduring much as a part of the fourth military district during Reconstruction by Congress.

The economy of the state continued to be agrarian, and the commercial patterns established in the years immediately after the war ensured the cementing of a one-crop society upon Mississippi that served as a barrier for the next seventy-five years to the economic development of the state.

This is an accurate and readable study indicating mature research. Students of southern history will find it of value. It has a full bibliography and is adequately indexed.

Texas Christian University

WILLIAM CURTIS NUNN

JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Paul M. Cousins*. [Southern Literary Studies.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 237. \$7.50.)

THIRTY years ago, when Paul Buck in *Road to Reunion* portrayed Joel Chandler Harris as a healer of national divisions, his picture was both accurate and fresh. Today, however, Harris, as the first white southerner to bring the Negro to the literary attention of the nation, requires an additional interpretation. Unfortunately Mr. Cousins contents himself with re-emphasizing Harris' nationalism, thereby missing the opportunity to analyze systematically his conception of the Negro.

One reason Cousins misses his chance is because of the way he has chosen to organize his book. Essentially the book is a straightforward, chronologically organized biography; each of Harris' many works is taken up in turn, summarized, and briefly commented upon. His approach to the subject is clearly friendly, but critical. Cousins recognizes that Harris never wrote a good novel and that his literary skill was not high. Cousins' own writing is clear and restrained, and his search for new information on his subject is evident. He has, for example, unearthed much information on Joseph Addison Turner, the most important single intellectual influence on Harris. Despite his straightforward approach, some biographical problems are still unresolved. Cousins rightly praises the accuracy of Harris' transcriptions of dialect and the value of the Negro tales that he put into the mouth of Uncle Remus. But nowhere is the reader told how Harris obtained the original versions, except that he had lived as a boy on Turner's plantation in middle Georgia. Harris, however, wrote these stories many years later; moreover, he dug up new ones as earlier ones attracted national attention. Furthermore, Harris' private life and personality are shadowy, except for the reiterated point that he was unusually shy. After reading so much about Harris' reticence, the reader is surprised to learn of his marriage.

But the book's weakness stems from more than its organization and unanswered questions. Its principal fault is the author's old-fashioned outlook, symbolized by his inability to bring himself to use the word "illegitimate" to describe the circumstances of Harris' birth. Although Cousins contends that Harris took

the southern Negro seriously, the sayings of Uncle Remus, for example, obviously laud the "white man's nigger" while ridiculing those black people who depart from the racist mores of the white South. But these sayings are not the whole of Harris on the subject of the Negro, as Cousins points out. The story of "Free Joe," for example, is one of the most powerful indictments of the social system of the ante bellum South written by a nineteenth-century native white. This apparent conflict in Harris' thought is no more than noted by Cousins. The bibliography does not even list Bernard Wolfe's trenchant analysis of the Uncle Remus tales, which appeared in *Commentary* twenty years ago.

In short, the life of Harris is here, but an analysis and interpretation of Harris' thought are not; that important study still awaits an author.

Stanford University

CARL N. DEGLER

THE WORLD OF ANDREW CARNEGIE: 1865-1901. By *Louis M. Hacker*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1968. Pp. xxxvii, 473. \$8.95.)

SCHOLARS should be encouraged to publish their mature judgments on material they have studied for much of their lifetime, but, since such writings are necessarily generalizations regarding complex situations, they will be subject to argument. *The World of Andrew Carnegie* includes a thesis regarding American economic growth; an evaluative discussion of the economic history of the years 1865 to 1901; and, set apart at the end, a discussion of the career of Andrew Carnegie.

In so far as the Hacker thesis regarding economic growth gives strong weight to such institutional factors as politics, law, education, and social attitudes, it conforms with and adds to the best present-day thought; in so far as the thesis involves a stage theory hinging upon the Civil War, it is more open to question. It is unfortunate that so much is made of the effect of the war because it is unnecessary to the more important arguments regarding the contribution of institutional factors to economic growth, and it produces a tendency toward dating the beginnings of some practices, such as state geological studies, in the postwar rather than prewar period. Since the effects of the war have been the subject of much recent writing by both historians and economists, there is no need to restate the pros and cons of the controversy here.

In developing the roles of institutional factors Hacker makes use of much-neglected earlier learning on matters such as politics, law, and taxation, giving it new emphasis and interpretation. For some reason, the relatively recent and basically important work of James Willard Hurst and his disciples in legal history, however, is not mentioned in either text or bibliography. Education and urbanization are strongly and properly emphasized. All of this discussion is made particularly enjoyable because Hacker's ability as a writer gives lucidity to his opinions as an economist, while emphasis on historic backgrounds gives a feeling of depth and continuity.

At any time in American history the harmony between popular aims and ambitions and the principles of successful entrepreneurship was unquestionably one of the most important stimulants to continuous growth. In spite of his birth and early upbringing in Scotland, Carnegie was a fairly exemplary

American entrepreneur. Only his striving for a place in the world of social thought was exceptional. The hundred pages describing his career catch the spirit of contemporary enterprise in management and finance.

In all, this book is full of wise and penetrating insights stemming from the learning of both economists and historians. Yet its particular theses are frequently in evidence, including a subtle tendency to praise American experience without enough qualification regarding either relative failures or some better experiences in other nations. While destructive criticism has perhaps gone too far in emphasizing the failures and neglecting the successes of America's "iron age," it is still an important part of the historical function to stress imperfections in hopes that institutions may be improved in the future.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE ENTERPRISING SCOT: INVESTORS IN THE AMERICAN WEST AFTER 1873. By *W. Turrentine Jackson*. [Edinburgh University Publications, History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 22.] ([Edinburgh:] Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1968. Pp. xiii, 415. \$12.50.)

READERS of Professor Jackson's numerous publications have become accustomed to his special interest in business enterprises within the American West. The present work is a product not only of Scottish business activities in the American West but also in part, at least, of Jackson's residence at the University of Glasgow as a Fulbright scholar. The enterprising Scots appear to have discovered the American West about 1873, not as a place to inhabit, although many did migrate to this area, but as a gold mine for capital investment. Moving cautiously and prudently, they discovered the limited company organization the instrument best suited to their purposes, particularly so because more than one-third of the initial investors or shareholders in such business adventures were thrifty people of modest means: bank employees, law clerks, accountants, lawyers, merchants, tradesmen, physicians, ministers, and even teachers. Taking full advantage of depression prices in the United States in 1873, Scots began to buy heavily in western securities on the New York Stock Exchange. Jackson points out that by the end of the decade the "better-known" investment firms of Edinburgh and Dundee had transferred £4,150,000 to the USA. Favorites for investment were western cattle companies, railroads, land purchased from railroads, timber, and mines. Jackson devotes separate chapters to some of these major areas of investment; in fact, three such chapters deal with the varying fortunes of Scottish mining ventures in the American West. Taken as a whole, gains in such ventures more than offset losses. The 1880's witnessed an increase in the number of investment firms that took on more and more of the hallmarks of modern corporate structures. By 1890 Scottish investments reached at least ten million pounds, and not until the panic of 1893 did the tides of fortune begin to fluctuate markedly. But even so, the author states, "The outstanding characteristic of the years 1900 to 1914 was prosperity. The capital of the Scottish-American investment companies alone passed the £15,000,000 mark." Liquidation did not come until World War II and for reasons far beyond the control of the "Enterprising Scot."

Jackson has executed this study with customary aplomb. Clearly the book is solidly based upon the records of Scottish companies examined at such places as Edinburgh and Dundee, the London Stock Exchange Records, the greatly augmented holdings on the subject at the Bancroft Library, and such nuggets as he was able to pick up in widely scattered depositories. The book is adequately documented and is narrated in a sober, yet clearly understood, language. In his introduction the author expresses concern for fear that his book might lack luster for western American historians, and so it does. But it is extremely difficult to imagine how, short of a "robber baron" approach or elaboration upon Scottish pounds at work in booming western mining and cow town bars, he could have given vim to his portrayal of Scottish countinghouses.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM. Volume III, 1874-1893: THE KALAKAUA DYNASTY. By *Ralph S. Kuykendall*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 764. \$12.00.)

For forty-one years, from 1922 until his death in 1963, Professor Ralph S. Kuykendall immersed himself in the study and writing of Hawaiian history. He published several short histories of Hawaii and numerous articles, and the present work is the third and concluding volume of his magnum opus, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. The three volumes are uneven in length but not in merit. All three were based upon unusually careful and extensive research, and those who knew Kuykendall must believe that he had personally examined every possible source, manuscript or printed, that could enlighten his subject. The result of this extraordinary lifetime dedication to the study of his subject is the indisputably definitive history of the Hawaiian Islands, from their discovery by Captain James Cook to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893.

The present volume displays the same characteristics of meticulous research, careful writing, and remarkable objectivity that have marked the preceding volumes. It is more detailed and is more nearly political history than either of the earlier volumes. Four chapters deal with the economic and social consequences in Hawaii of the reciprocity treaty of 1875. The remaining seventeen are devoted to political history. This concentration on political history may be dictated by the central role that politics played in Hawaiian life during the period covered by the present volume, but it is a contrast with the earlier volumes, when economic and social history received greater proportionate attention.

Kuykendall's vast knowledge of the sweep and details of Hawaiian history enabled him to clarify many points that have been in controversy and, in some instances, to refute statements by contemporaries or by later historians. He has, however, avoided any explicit effort to provide interpretation on a broad scale, and he has resisted the temptation to formulate some theory as to the causes of decline of the monarchy or the motives of those who overthrew it. Yet, his narrative carries its own implicit interpretation of those events. This volume is a story of the numerical decline of native Hawaiians, of the growing fear by whites of the increasing numbers of Orientals, of inept and sometimes corrupt political maneuverings by the monarchs and their friends, and of the development

of tensions and even bitterness among various elements in Honolulu. These developments, we may conclude from this volume, forced the leaders of the business and professional community, who prized stable government, to become, almost against their will, first revolutionists and then annexationists. Thus, the present volume seems to reaffirm the judgments of such earlier historians as William D. Alexander, who were closely associated with those who overthrew the monarchy. Implicitly, though not explicitly, it rejects the interpretations of other historians who have been less favorable to the revolution and more sympathetic with the monarchy.

It should be added that nearly all of the last chapter was written by Professor Charles H. Hunter, who was for thirty years the colleague and close friend of Kuykendall at the University of Hawaii. It maintains the same high standard of scholarship that has characterized every chapter of *The Hawaiian Kingdom*.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

THE CONSERVATIVE REGIME: SOUTH CAROLINA, 1877-1890. By William J. Cooper, Jr. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXVI (1968), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. 239. \$8.95.)

DESPITE its subtitle, this book is not a history of South Carolina during the thirteen-year period indicated. Rather it is a thorough study and careful analysis of the Democratic-Conservative regime that controlled the state between the overthrow of Reconstruction and the advent of Tillmanism. Cooper openly questions, at least for South Carolina, the generally accepted C. Vann Woodward interpretation that assumes a basic conflict between the business-industrial-oriented redeemers and the agrarians. Indeed, in his introduction he accepts the term Bourbon as literally appropriate for the South Carolina Democrats, but throughout the body of the work refers to them as Conservatives.

The first two chapters treat the general political methods and policies of the Conservatives. Attention is focused on Governor Wade Hampton's efforts to pursue a moderate racial policy and maintain good relations with the Hayes administration as well as the opposition to the regime led by Martin W. Cary and, less effectively, by the Greenbackers. A chapter each is devoted to the race problem and to economic policies. Cooper agrees with George Tindall and Woodward, rather than with Joel Williamson's more recent study, that the Conservative racial policy was a moderate interlude between slavery and the harsh racist policy of the 1890's. The Conservatives dedicated themselves to promoting the complete economic development of the state, agrarian as well as business-industrial. The controversy over effective railroad regulation developed not between agrarian and business interests but rather between Charleston-based interests and the major North-South systems.

In the last two chapters Cooper describes and analyzes the rise of Tillmanism, emphasizing his concept that Tillman was not a dedicated agrarian, but took advantage of agrarian distress to promote his own political cause. The Conservatives, who were dedicated to preserving the past, suffered from poor leadership, especially with Hampton's declining interest and prestige in the 1880's. They were defeated by a man who gained control of the very party machinery they had

developed. Tillman emerged victorious "not because he represented a new and different class in South Carolina politics, and not because he had a new and different program for meeting the state's difficulties [but] . . . because he spoke a new rhetoric that appealed to a new generation."

Although some of these generalizations can be questioned, it is refreshing to have a study of a southern Bourbon regime developed more in a consensus than a polarity framework. Some interesting maps and tables in the appendix clearly illustrate the regional and occupational similarity between Conservative and Tillman leadership, and exhaustive footnotes attest to the author's diligent research.

University of Houston

ALLEN J. GOING

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL SECURITY, 1900-1935. By Roy Lubove.
[Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America,
Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968.
Pp. viii, 276. \$6.95.)

Roy Lubove has given us, once again, a work that is destined to become the standard book in its field. *The Struggle for Social Security* pursues two main themes: the obstacles posed by the voluntaristic tradition and the accommodation of the social insurance movement to this "incongruous environment" (as Lubove calls it). The first theme, itself familiar enough, receives shrewd elaboration. Thus, among other things, Lubove demonstrates the failure to initiate a genuine debate. The social insurance advocates spoke in technical and operational terms, the voluntarists on high moral grounds. No meeting of minds was possible on such a crucial issue as compulsory coverage. The second theme involves the split between the Abraham Epstein-I. M. Rubinow group and the John B. Andrews-J. R. Commons group. The latter tried to reconcile security goals with the American setting by emphasizing prevention over income maintenance, incentives over state compulsion, and a minimum of economic redistribution. The legacy of this "American approach," Lubove suggests in his thoughtful conclusion, has been to tie economic security to employment and thereby to leave the unemployables who constitute our poverty core to the tender mercies of the welfare system rather than to incorporate them into an adequate income maintenance program.

This book exhibits all the craftsmanlike qualities that characterize Lubove's earlier work. The research is solid, particularly impressive for its mastery of the voluminous printed sources. Lubove carries much of his analysis forward by succinct summary, at which he excels, of key documents. The book's organization likewise gives the reader maximum exposure to the substance of the subject. Excepting two opening chapters identifying the principal themes and actors, each chapter is devoted to the single issues of workmen's compensation, health insurance, mothers' pensions, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance. Since the peak activity for these reforms occurred in rough sequence, the topical arrangement does not exclude a sense of chronological development. Finally, Lubove crams a remarkable amount of information in this short book, including valuable treatment of the European influence on the American experience.

All these virtues, making this, as they do, a model of usable and informative

history, probably account for the principal defect of the book—a certain poverty of historical imagination. Not that Lubove is unaware, in an abstract way, of time and circumstance, but he manages to transmit little sense of contemporaneous reality. His story occurs in a kind of historical vacuum. This is especially unfortunate for the depression years. (It is significant that Lubove does not cite Irving Bernstein's *Lean Years*.) It seems a pity, too, that, notwithstanding the dates given in the title, Lubove did not give an account of how the developments he analyzes so well culminated in the Social Security Act of 1935. Considering that the text comes to only 180 pages, this does not seem an unreasonable expectation, and it would have made a valuable book doubly so.

University of California, Davis

DAVID BRODY

THE NAVAJO INDIANS AND FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY, 1900-1935.

By Lawrence C. Kelly. ([Tucson:] University of Arizona Press. 1968. Pp. x, 221. \$7.50.)

As Lawrence Kelly so ably puts it, during each generation in the past "the American Red Man has been 'discovered' by his white countrymen," and to the new "discoverers" of the 1960's Kelly's evaluation of federal policies for the Navajo Indians should prove interesting and very worthwhile. His treatise is more than a recital of governmental policies for the largest remaining Indian tribe. It has a much broader scope and, in the process of examining the intricacies of the federal bureaucracy, brings into the open the intertribal maneuvering and warfare of the Washington agencies and congressmen who decided Indian policies for the period 1900 to 1935.

After a brief look at Navajo history and society, the author discusses reservation expansion before 1922, with specific reference to the application of the Dawes Act and its relevant Executive Orders of the early 1900's. He then takes a look at the Metalliferous Minerals Act and its effect on the Navajo reservation. A rather long chapter deals with government oil leases of the 1920's under Albert B. Fall, and students of history interested in the Doheny, Sinclair, and the Teapot Dome scandals of this period will be intrigued by the lesser-known machinations connected with the Navajo lands. With the decline of oil interest in northern Arizona and the passage of legislation defining the operation of oil leases on the reservation, Kelly next shifts attention to range management problems, including disease eradication, scientific stockbreeding, and overgrazing.

A significant chapter on reservation expansion may surprise some readers who are committed to the stereotype that nearly all Indian tribes have suffered a diminution of their reservation lands since the Civil War period. The author traces the events of a transitional period during the Hoover administration leading to a New Deal for the Navajo people under the Roosevelt administration of the 1930's. There is an excellent discussion of a new point of view toward the education of Navajo children, away from the old concept of boarding schools and toward the idea of schools close enough that the children can live at home while attending them. In a rather poignant speech, Hosteen Ney of the Hopi agency expressed the distress of her people about the concept of boarding schools: "With a baby in your arms you kiss that baby a lot. We feel the same way about

our children. But you want to come and take the children and rush these poor children off to school . . . about all the children we have left now is one year old, two year old, three year old—you have all the others.”

After a brief discussion of health practices on the reservation and the final awarding of the right to vote in 1947, Kelly concludes with a correction of the “yes-man” myth about the Navajo Tribal Council which, he maintains, has been the voice of the Navajo people, exercising real power in their behalf.

The book is well documented, quite scholarly in approach, and provides an excellent appraisal of the development of federal policies for all American Indians as well as the Navajo during the period from 1900 to 1935.

University of Utah

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

WRITERS AND PARTISANS: A HISTORY OF LITERARY RADICALISM IN AMERICA. By *James Burkhart Gilbert*. [American Cultural History Series.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. xiii, 303. \$6.95.)

As the author explains in his preface, he set out innocently enough to write a history of the *Partisan Review*, but quickly found that, if he were to deal intelligently with the character and issues treated by that “little magazine,” he would have to delve extensively into the history of modern socialism. The result is something less than a full history of literary radicalism in America as the subtitle claims, but it is, nevertheless, a thoughtful and useful examination of certain themes central to the history and literature of modern socialism. Because the editors of the *Partisan* were primarily literary critics, and because literature has a clearly defined place and role in Marxist theory, the magazine provides abundant material to illustrate the problems of the writer in the socialist context.

The magazine originated in 1934 as a John Reed Club publication in close relation to the Communist party. Too independent for organizational ties it moved successively through Trotskyism and independent radicalism to an eventual nonpolitical preoccupation with the cultural and social conditions of creativity. The principal editors whose views receive extended analysis are Rahv, Phillips, and Macdonald. Collectively these men explored the nature of proletarian literature, the role of the socialist intellectual, alienation, and the course of the Communist movement.

More than a third of the book is devoted to the socialist journalism of the early twentieth century because of the revealing parallels and anticipations of the later period. The coming of Marxism to America had coincided with the cultural rebellion of naturalism, with Greenwich Village bohemianism, expatriation, and the discovery of the European art of the *avant-garde*. The confluence of these influences gave to socialist journalism its peculiar flavor of optimism, urgency, and revolutionary fervor. The First World War and the triumph of Bolshevism brought the early period to an abrupt close. The relationship of the creative artist to the organized socialist party was dramatized in the later period by the prestige of Soviet Communism expressed through its American party. Now the perennial issue of national loyalty versus international proletarian revolution became acute, and the “French turns” in the party line shook off the gullible into a sea of

engulfing cynicism. Under such circumstances the *Partisan Review* was well advised to turn to non-Marxist brands of criticism.

The author took commendable advantage of the opportunity to interview the editors. But his very closeness to the subject made it impossible for him to place the material in any other context than that in which the *Partisan* itself was conscious of flourishing. The central phenomenon is doubtless the alienation of the creative person from his society, and the historian can deal with this only in the same terms in which the *Partisan* writers themselves confronted it.

University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

THOMAS P. GORE: THE BLIND SENATOR FROM OKLAHOMA. By *Monroe Lee Billington*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1967. Pp. 229. \$5.50.)

MONROE Billington's political biography of Thomas P. Gore traces the blind Oklahoman's political career from frontier Populism, through lukewarm progressivism, to depression conservatism. Born in Mississippi in 1870, Gore was blinded early in life. Shortly after his defeat as a Populist candidate for Congress in 1898, Gore moved to Oklahoma where he immediately became involved in territorial politics. He was elected to the territorial council in 1903. He constantly kept himself in the public eye, and in 1907 Oklahomans sent him to Washington as a senator, a position he held until the voters rejected him in 1920. Returned to the Senate in 1930, he was repudiated in the 1936 Democratic primary.

Billington best sums up Gore's career when he concludes that "Perhaps the most lasting contribution of the sightless Oklahoma Senator was his inspiration to the blind." Indeed, this seems to be Gore's claim to a place in American history. In most matters of state, his voice and vote were negative. He supported the New Freedom in a limited way; he spoke out against Wilson's pre-1917 policies and opposed the League of Nations; he had little use for Hoover policies; and he bitterly fought most New Deal measures. He opposed, but rarely did he advance solutions or propose alternative policies. Although, as Billington points out, he made some contribution in agriculture, oil, and Indian affairs—three matters most significant in Oklahoma—Oklahomans twice turned him out of office for his negativism.

The author presents an objective study. One of the strengths of this work is that it does not make something of Gore that he was not—a pitfall not always avoided by political biographers. Although Gore enjoyed a reputation as an orator who used colorful and frank language, too little of this comes through in the biography. Billington does use many of the shorter and more colorful statements, but I find it regrettable that there is not more from Gore himself.

Although Billington has published much of the Gore story in various journals, the University of Kansas Press was justified in bringing together the complete story. Indeed, there is a need for more individual studies of Great Plain politicians and politics. Only when a cross section of Plains political biographies have appeared can synthesis of the region's politics be achieved.

University of North Dakota

D. JEROME TWETON

A DIPLOMAT LOOKS BACK. By *Lewis Einstein*. Edited by *Lawrence E. Gelfand*, with a foreword by *George F. Kennan*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xxxiv, 269. \$7.50.)

LIKE any good volume of memoirs, Lewis Einstein's is many things in one: descriptions of diplomatic life in Ottoman Turkey, Manchu China, and Republican Prague; analyses of the Armenian massacres, the Battle of Gallipoli, and dollar diplomacy; recollections of Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes, Sir Edward Grey, Edward Beneš, and the Masaryks, father and son; commentaries on Chinese gardens and architecture; and anecdotes, witty and tragic, drawn from a career of almost thirty years in the American diplomatic service.

What distinguishes these memoirs, as George Kennan suggests in a gracious foreword, is the fact that they are more than simply recollections "emanating . . . from the period itself, and bearing the stamp of its outlooks and its myopia." Written in the 1940's and 1950's, they are part memoir and part historical reflection. One example is Einstein's discussion of the Algeciras Conference of 1906, in which he participated as secretary to the American delegation. Disappointed at the time that the conference was no more than "a series of vacuous deliberations over the most trifling questions," Einstein came to appreciate that the "elaborate bit of stagecraft" practiced at Algeciras was like a "dose of calming medicine" that helped extricate "France and Germany from a highly dangerous muddle."

More important to the student of American diplomacy, though, these memoirs are fresh testimony to the tragic waste of the country's diplomatic talent. Though a man of exceptional intelligence, learning, and insight, Einstein had little impact on Washington policy makers and never won a major diplomatic assignment. Indeed, two years before the outbreak of the First World War, Einstein found it impossible to gain a hearing in the United States for his view that a war was imminent and that American well-being depended upon British success and the preservation of the European balance of power. Despite his astute observations, President Wilson and Secretaries Bryan and Lansing found no place for Einstein in the diplomatic service except for a sixteen-month tour of duty in Constantinople and Sofia in 1915-1916. But men like Einstein and Bryan moved in different worlds: seeing Bryan off at the Constantinople station after a week's visit by the then future Secretary of State, Einstein mentioned that he would have an interesting journey through the Balkans. "What are the Balkans?" Bryan asked. Similarly, despite accurate predictions through the 1930's about international affairs and thoughtful policy proposals during the Second World War for Central and Eastern Europe, Einstein's services remained unwanted and unused.

The editing of the memoirs is expertly done: Professor Gelfand fills in many important gaps in the narrative with a lively introduction and clarifies many points with substantive notes and an excellent biographical directory.

University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT DALLEK

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS AND CONSERVATION: THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT AFFAIR. By *James Penick, Jr.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 207. \$7.50.)

NORMALLY one would doubt the soundness of the historical community expending

so much of its talent to assess an issue such as the 1910 Ballinger-Pinchot affair. In view of the thorough studies of the affair by Rose Stahl and A. T. Mason, the excellent period works by Samuel Hays and George Mowry, and the Pinchot biography by Nelson McGeary, one wonders what else can be said. But Professor Penick's fine assessment was worth doing. Not only does he draw from pertinent original manuscript material; he also synthesizes nicely the secondary sources on the subject. It is surprising, however, that he seems to have drawn hardly at all from the most significant study of the affair by Mason. Penick's assessment is also useful in that Richard Ballinger, Taft's Secretary of the Interior, who dared cross Pinchot, is portrayed as no ogre or conservative but rather as one who "was fiercely upright"; "an antimonopolist in the classic sense"; "a Cleveland type reformer"; one viewed in the West as "champion of the small man." Penick is also very helpful in analyzing the relationship existing between the conservation movement and the trust issue.

The author concludes that Ballinger's and Pinchot's conservation policies differed because of their varying view on the trust issue. Regarding the relationship of conservation policy to trust elements, Ballinger was Jeffersonian, a defender of traditional lines of jurisdiction; a questioner of the "elitist assumption of bureaucracy"; a liberal who distrusted power. Conversely, the author sees Pinchot manifesting Herbert Croly's "Hamiltonian ideal." As such, he was a believer in continuous administration and supervision of conservation by a "disinterested permanent bureaucracy"; a broad interpreter of law; a liberal who loved power. To reach his conclusion the author describes Ballinger's reorganization of the General Land Office and how he opposed Pinchot's idea of land management. Ballinger's administration of conservation machinery is analyzed—an implementation that undid much of Pinchot's conservation arrangements in the several departments and bureaus.

The heart of the book is, of course, the retelling of the great investigation stemming from the charge by the land inspector, Louis Glavis, that Interior Secretary Ballinger was supporting collusion between certain interests regarding the disposal of coal lands in Alaska. Here the author reiterates what is well known to specialists in the field: that Ballinger had not been dishonest; that there were basic policy differences between the Pinchot and Ballinger camps; that while Ballinger was exonerated by the congressional investigating committee, Pinchot won in the court of public opinion.

Penick has written well a thorough account that reaches some interesting conclusions. Before accepting the main idea, however, that the Ballinger-Pinchot affair turned on a struggle between those for and against the New Nationalists approach to trusts, one should reconcile such a position held by Pinchot with his severe ideological difference with TR on the famous "missing anti-trust plank" in the Progressive party platform just two years later. Also, I question the assessment of conservation as "the most successful part" of the Roosevelt regulatory state. John Morton Blum rather persuasively assigns importance to the Hepburn Act and the regulation of railroads.

*State University College of Arts and Science,
Geneseo, New York*

MARTIN L. FAUSOLD

LITTLEFIELD LANDS: COLONIZATION ON THE TEXAS PLAINS, 1912-1920. By *David B. Gracy II*. [The M. K. Brown Range Life Series, Number 8.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. x, 161. \$5.00.)

THIS is an odd little book by a student who attended Walter Webb's lectures at the University of Texas and was inspired to test "the accuracy of his postulates." To do this he undertook a study of the efforts of his great-great-uncle and his grandfather to colonize a 312,000-acre ranch in the Panhandle plains of west Texas. Unfortunately the author found quantities of correspondence, contracts, and other documents that enabled him to trace in too minute detail the relations between his grandfather and the numerous immigrant agents whom he employed to draw settlers to the ranch. But the author seems to have had little of Webb's concern about the problems immigrants wrestled with in adapting themselves to the dry region.

Well drilling for irrigation as a promotional venture is mentioned, but, aside from a model farm where there seems to have been sufficient water to permit the growth of vegetables and fruit, there is no evidence that those who purchased land from the promoters profited from irrigation. Nor did the promoters make any considerable effort to determine whether water for irrigation could be provided before getting their advertising campaign under way. A list of 464 sales of farm land and town lots with the names of the purchasers, their place of origin, nationality, and religious affiliation takes up 28 pages. Though some are marked "closed," "cancelled," "redeeded," "paid," "resold," it is impossible to determine what proportion of the buyers succeeded in gaining title and over how many years. One may judge that the real-estate business was somewhat successful, but that is about all the useful information the book gives. Whether the settlement continued on a small-farm basis is not shown. A brief summary of farm data for the area from the censuses of 1920 and 1950 or 1960 might have been more useful than the list of 464 names of land purchasers or the many details of the promotional deals.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON. Volume IV, 1885. *Arthur S. Link et al.*, Editors. [Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. 758. \$15.00.)

VOLUME IV of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* covers six months of Wilson's life, from January 1885, at which time he was well into his second year as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins, until June, when he was married to Ellen Axson. *Congressional Government* had recently been published, and he was as yet uncommitted to any other task so ambitious. He had been hired to teach at Bryn Mawr, the new "Joanna Hopkins" for women that was to open in September, but he had to do little about his future job except to plan his courses and set some entrance examinations. He started to study for doctoral examinations, but abandoned the task because of ill-health.

In contrast to the previous volumes of the series, this one holds no surprises. It contains the full text of *Congressional Government*, but it is available elsewhere

in paperback. Here is the complete and accurate text of Wilson's contribution to a history of American economic thought that he was to have done with Richard C. Ely and Davis R. Dewey, but a version inaccurate only in detail has long been available to scholars. Over four hundred pages of the present volume, more than half, are given over to the almost daily letters exchanged between Wilson in Baltimore and his fiancée, Ellen Axson, who was studying at the Art Students' League in New York. Very much in love, the two young people were delighted at the opportunity to unburden themselves without restraint. Wilson told Ellen of his former ambition for high public office, now reduced to the hope of contributing importantly to political thought. He revealed sensitiveness and self-doubts. He frequently mentions the minor illnesses that plagued him during much of his life. For me the great attraction of the present volume is the picture one gets of Ellen Axson. Her letters are often delightful. She had more catholic tastes than her fiancé. She was more interested in the life of people around her and was more generous in judging them. She frequently displayed more common sense. One can see how she contributed to Wilson's later success.

As one has learned to expect, this volume is impeccably edited. The editorial notes on *Congressional Government* and the history of American political economy are lucid and compendious.

Phillips Exeter Academy

HENRY WILKINSON BRAGDON

WOODROW WILSON: THE ACADEMIC YEARS. By *Henry Wilkinson Bragdon*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 519. \$9.95.)

MUCH in Bragdon's account of Woodrow Wilson's formative years is commendable: his vigorous and lively style, his use of new material, and especially his fresh interpretation of many aspects of Wilson's intellectual development and academic career before his entry into politics in 1910. This is, in fact, a period of Wilson's life that deserves new study, for recent biographers of Wilson have largely concentrated on the last decade and a half of his career after he turned his attention from academic to governmental affairs. They have accordingly relied on Ray Stannard Baker's authorized biography, now more than a quarter of a century old, for detailed treatment of Wilson's youth and his work as scholar and educator. Students of Wilson and American higher education will therefore find much that is interesting in this book. Bragdon is particularly good in describing Wilson's student days at Princeton, Virginia, and Johns Hopkins where, he notes, Wilson was apparently better off financially than many of his contemporaries. Bragdon offers many interesting insights and interpretations. He attributes Wilson's interest in congressional reform along parliamentary lines, for example, to his ambition to use his substantial skill in extempore debate to win high political office. He contradicts the common view of Wilson as a political and economic conservative before 1910, noting his advocacy of municipal ownership of public utilities and a variety of other government reforms in the 1880's and 1890's. In short, the Wilson we meet here is both a sensitive intellectual and an ambitious and forceful leader, much more flexible than he has often been portrayed in this period. Bragdon clearly demonstrates that this would have been a notable career even had it ended prematurely in 1910.

Unfortunately, the book's deficiencies are as important as its merits. Bragdon's study demonstrates the dangers of premature publication—before adequate proof-reading and checking of sources, and particularly before taking full advantage of the impressive scholarship currently under way by Arthur S. Link and his associates in connection with their editing and publication of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. It is not too much to suggest that Bragdon and the Harvard University Press would have been well advised to delay publication of this study until all of the new material discovered by Link for this period of Wilson's life is available for use. As it is, the book shows evidence of hasty preparation, as though Bragdon felt under pressure to get into print before more of the *Papers* volumes were published.

Bragdon has committed numerous factual errors and inaccuracies, of which the following few examples must suffice: Josephus Daniels was Secretary of the Navy, not Secretary of State, in Wilson's cabinet; the proper name is Indiana University, not the University of Indiana, which, in any case, Bragdon later confuses with the University of Illinois; the Wisconsin State Historical Society is officially called the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Bragdon misspells such familiar names as Raymond B. Fosdick, Edward A. Ross, and Frederic C. Howe. There are enough errors in quotations from documents now available for comparison in the first four volumes of the *Papers* to raise serious questions about Bragdon's scholarship. Even more disturbing is his failure to use important material. Although he properly notes the significance of Wilson's little-known long article, "Self-Government in France," first published in Volume I of the *Papers* in 1966, he barely mentions in a note Wilson's first book-length effort, *Government by Debate*, which likewise was not published until 1967 in Volume II of the *Papers*. No doubt future volumes of the *Papers* will reveal other important material that might have been of great value to Bragdon had he waited until he could make this a definitive instead of merely a provocative study.

University of Wisconsin

E. DAVID CRONON

WOODROW WILSON AND WORLD POLITICS: AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO WAR AND REVOLUTION. By *N. Gordon Levin, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 340. \$7.50.)

A NEW entrant in the field of Wilsoniana must delve deeply and seek a fresh approach, and Dr. Levin has done both. His documentation amply exploits the American printed and manuscript sources. He views Woodrow Wilson's formulation of foreign policy in terms of selectivity and ideology. Eschewing "complete narrative coverage," he presents "an integrated analysis of the theory and practice of . . . the 1917-1919 period." Within this, he defines Wilsonian goals as "the attainment of a peaceful capitalist world order under international law, safe from both traditional imperialism and revolutionary socialism, within whose stable liberal confines a missionary America could find moral and economic pre-eminence." He describes Wilson's search for these goals in carefully defined ideological terms ("liberal-capitalist internationalism," "atavistic imperialism," "liberal-exceptionalism," "democratic-socialism," "revolutionary-socialism," "pre-liberal values") which demand close and constant attention.

Three chapters treat "War and Revolution"; four, "Peace and Revolution";

all deal with Wilsonian efforts to moderate revolutionary change by substituting a "Lockeanized" international society, founded on compact (the League), for the prewar "Hobbesian" state of nature, basing security precariously on armed balance of power. Chapter I contrasts two formulas for restructuring postwar politics. Wilson would lend American influence to reform "within a context of international-capitalism" freed from "imperialist irrationality"; contrariwise, for V.I. Lenin, only "revolutionary-socialism" could suffice. For Wilson, entry into the war became an essential preliminary to his solution. Chapter II chronicles Wilson's conviction of the impossibility of political compromise with Lenin's burgeoning revolutionary-socialism. The final wartime chapter finds Wilson joining with Japan in the Siberian adventure, partly to "oppose both German imperialism and Bolshevism" in Russia, and partly to introduce Japan to the idea of a liberal-international view of Asian affairs.

Chapters IV and V describe a Wilsonian dilemma: desire to reintegrate Germany into postwar organization, and the simultaneous necessity of punishing the wicked by satisfying Slavic nationalism with territory, without pushing the wicked Leftward into the arms of the Bolsheviks and thus endangering the new liberal-international order to be embodied in the League which, it was hoped, would keep all the wicked under control. Chapter VI details Wilson's calculated Peace Conference efforts, using the stabilizing touch of an American-led League, to deliver both Russia and Eastern Europe from the alternative disasters of Rightist reaction and revolutionary-socialism. In Chapter VII Levin completes the story of the failure of Japanese-American collaboration to erect an anti-Bolshevik structure in Siberia and shows how Wilson saw in the mandate system a possible device for blunting Japanese imperialism. In all of this Wilson emerges as a consistent anti-Bolshevik and as thoroughly devoted to the national self-interest as to international order.

The author has researched superbly; his properly self-imposed limits, however, leave the reader uninformed on other closely related matters. He has overburdened his text with well-chosen quotations (17 per cent of one chapter), better shared with the footnotes. His analysis of his period is brilliant, and this first study deserves high marks.

Seton Hall University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

THE INFLUENCE OF WAR ON WALTER LIPPMANN, 1914-1944. By *Francine Curro Cary*. [Logmark Editions.] (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1967. Pp. ix, 184. \$3.25.)

THE duration alone of Walter Lippmann's career as a student, reporter, and analyst of American public affairs invites the attention of scholars interested in various phases of twentieth-century national development. Considerations more compelling than mere longevity justify such attention. Lippmann has on occasion been close to the center of important events and has frequently enjoyed association with prominent makers and doers in the fields of foreign and domestic policy and action. Since World War I he has consistently cultivated and often sustained a public stance of detachment that has tended to place him apart from the immediate, often partisan, pressures of day-to-day affairs.

The whole Lippmann is hard to grasp, partly because of the sheer bulk of his published work. An added difficulty arises from the range of historical, philosophical, sociological, psychological, and other perspectives that are unsystematically reflected in his writings. The author of the present book has chosen to limit her study to a consideration of Lippmann's views on American foreign policy within a period bounded by the two world wars of the first half of this century. Further refinement of the topic occurs in a focus upon a central preoccupation of the Lippmann mind: war, its causes and results, and the possibility of controlling, limiting, or eliminating it as a form of interaction among nations.

Lippmann's writings, some fifteen books, numerous articles, and newspaper editorials and columns, serve as the basis of this study, although other published works and several manuscript collections were used as well. The Lippmann Collection in Yale Library was also consulted and proved to be of value principally because of the presence of proof sheets establishing the authorship of editorials appearing in the *New York World* between 1924 and 1931. Lippmann is quoted at some length throughout the book, perhaps more than is necessary in view of the author's own clear and effective prose.

A significant contribution of this book is its presentation of a rationale for the hitherto largely unexplained twists and seemingly abrupt turns encountered by those who have followed Lippmann's journalistic career in the realm of foreign policy. Readers will find an identification of the basic premises and an analysis of the structure of the pragmatic approach that led Lippmann from his idealistic enthusiasms of 1914 to what the author describes as an end of his age of innocence in the early 1940's.

The value of this book to Lippmann students is enhanced by the inclusion of a helpful bibliographical essay. It is a welcome addition to the growing literature dealing with the work of the distinguished journalist.

Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

EARL S. BEARD

HOSTILE SKIES: A COMBAT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN AIR SERVICE IN WORLD WAR I. By *James J. Hudson*. ([Syracuse, N.Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 338. \$10.95.)

"I was sure that if the war lasted," Brigadier General William Mitchell wrote after World War I had ended, "air power would decide it." Professor Hudson, himself a fighter pilot in the Second World War, has provided a history of American Army air combat in World War I that accepts Mitchell's vision, but truthfully records the more limited capabilities of the first American war birds. The history makes good use of the little-exploited official histories of Army Air Service units, which were prepared under the direction of Colonel Edgar S. Gorrell, and of the recollections of participants in the air war in Europe and the writings about it, many of which have been published in recent years in popular aviation historical journals. He has interviewed or corresponded with many of the surviving aviators. Both the author's design and his sources incline him toward a history of unit operations and of air battles—whether by groups, squadrons, or individuals. He gives a spirited and comprehensive story of observation, pursuit, and bombardment missions as they were flown by US Army pilots, some of

whom were attached to French, Italian, and British squadrons. He does not include the achievements of the US Navy airmen who also served in the European war.

While Hudson has captured the essence of the moving story of air combat in flimsy planes, he falls short in a few other matters. A consultation of recent biographies of Mitchell and Sir Hugh Trenchard will show that many of their ideas in regard to strategic air bombardment originated after the armistice and did not motivate their thinking during World War I nearly as much as the author would have his readers believe. No one should accept Mitchell's "diary" without first reading Professor Alfred Hurley's critical comments on it in his biography of Mitchell. The author tells the story of air combat during the St.-Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne offensives, but he does not attempt to describe the exact significance of the aerial operations to the successful accomplishment of the ground battles. The reader who seeks comprehensive meanings will find the "epilogue," which contains a summary of accomplishments and failures of American aviation in World War I, much too short. Despite these limitations, Hudson has provided the best history yet on American air combat in World War I.

Air University

ROBERT FRANK FUTRELL

W. J. CASH: SOUTHERN PROPHET. A BIOGRAPHY AND READER.

By *Joseph L. Morrison*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xiii, 309, vii. \$6.95.)

THIS book is composed of two parts: a biography of Wilbur J. Cash and a selection of readings from his periodical articles. The details of Cash's life and his family background are given from the period of his birth in 1900 in the rural textile town of Gaffney, South Carolina, to his tragic death in Mexico City in 1941.

Cash grew up in a community that teetered between being a red hillside farming town and a textile mill center. The people about him, including members of his family, held to all the social and political mores of the upper Piedmont South. These were conditioned by the nearness of the Appalachian highlands, the fringe edge of the cotton belt, and the rising industrial belt of the area. His family background and life were about as characteristic as could be found in South Carolina: the Cash and Hamrick families held fundamentalist religious views; they were Democrats in politics; and they were moderately poor.

Young Cash came to an age of realization in a community that was crippled by those shortcomings—economic, social, and political—that bound most of the South. The way to the future was dim and confused. Cash came to understand intimately the many crosscurrents that created anxieties, poverty, and even animosities in the neighborhood of Gaffney. Beyond this, he came to maturity in an age when cynicism was national in scope. In the post-World War I years southerners were forced to seek new directions or be submerged under economic pressures. The southern mind, being both confused and stubborn, resisted change that promised a certain amount of disaster. The region was made even more self-conscious by the brassy attacks in the *American Mercury*. Especially stinging

was Mencken's accusation that the South was arid regarding development in the humanities and the arts.

At Wake Forest College in the stirring 1920's Cash received much intellectual stimulation from Professors C. C. Pearson, Benjamin Sledd, and William Louis Poteat at a time when fundamentalist forces undertook to smother every spark of liberalism, in both the college and the region. In spite of this intellectual stimulation, Cash had a hard time finding himself, as was shown by his experience as an instructor in English at Georgetown College in Kentucky. He wanted to write and publish articles about the South, which he was able to do with some success through the *American Mercury*.

From 1936 to 1940 Cash struggled with writing the *Mind of the South*. His relationship with Knopf is a tale of publisher frustration and author flagellation. Knopf possessed most of the manuscript, but the author would not prepare a concluding chapter. When the book was published, its immediate success compensated for the long wait. Cash, however, could not pull himself together either emotionally or physically to approach the future, and he committed suicide in Mexico City, where he had gone to take advantage of a writing fellowship.

Mr. Morrison has written a highly sympathetic biography, so much so that it becomes almost patronizing. He deals with Cash as a man in whom the flame of ambition burned brilliantly, but whose physical and emotional being was troubled and uncertain. While the author's presentation sometimes becomes tedious and overprecious, he does, nevertheless, provide insight into Cash and his times, his experiences, and the sources of his stimulation.

This is not the place to reappraise Cash's *Mind of the South*. His was a seminal book written and read in a period when southerners searched for directions along a treacherous path. This biography does, however, evoke at least a backward glance of reappraisal. How far from reality and the mainstream of the South did Cash live? How much did his illusiveness tend to warp his book when it came to sensing the currents of change that were already flowing freely?

Indiana University

THOMAS D. CLARK

STRUGGLE IN THE COAL FIELDS: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRED MOONEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER, DISTRICT 17, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA. Edited by J. W. Hess. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library. 1967. Pp. xi, 194. \$5.00.)

At first glance this small volume appears to contain the kind of material that is very scarce and that all labor historians hope to find—a firsthand account by a workingman of his working conditions and problems, of his living conditions and life, of his relations to his union, and of his thoughts on problems facing the union coal miner. Unfortunately, it does not.

Fred Mooney, who wrote the manuscript from which this book was made, joined the United Mine Workers as a teen-ager during the union's first West Virginia organizing effort in the Kanawha Valley in 1902, but he did not become "aware" of the union until the Cabin Creek and Paint Creek conflicts of 1912-1913. Diligent effort in organizing, of which he says very little, ultimately led

to his election in 1917 as secretary-treasurer of District 17, which encompassed most of West Virginia, at the same time that Frank Keeney was elected president. He remained in that office until 1924.

Although Mooney only barely reveals the life of a workingman and a union official, he does present some valuable material. He sketches the problem of organizing. "Ignorance," he indicates, "teetotal, dumfounding ignorance is the supremely remarkable thing with which the labor leader comes in contact." He hints at bickering and feuding among union officials. But the most significant material he presents relates to the utterly criminal and brutal activities of the company guards—"gunmen" is the term he uses—hired by coal corporations to keep the union out of the coal fields, and of the equally criminal activities of sheriffs and deputy sheriffs used by the companies for the same purpose. Important also is his account, not always clear, of his experiences in the notorious and spurious trials following the Mingo and Logan County wars of the early 1920's and of the disruptive methods used by the cohorts of John L. Lewis in seeking to prevent the "Reorganized UMW" from gaining a foothold in West Virginia during the mid-1920's. While he says little about the national efforts of the UMW, he makes it clear that he thought Lewis personally responsible for the decline of unionism in the coal fields during this time.

In the last portion of the book he relates his ten years of wandering from one construction project to another throughout the West, wanderings reminiscent of a Wobbly's hegira.

The editor, J. W. Hess, has performed his task of preparing the manuscript for publication most creditably, and the publisher has provided a highly readable format.

Temple University

JOSEPH G. RAYBACK

DOUGLASS COLLEGE: A HISTORY. By *George P. Schmidt*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 282. \$9.00.)

THE author of *The Old Time College President* (1930) and *The Liberal Arts College* (1957) has now produced a well-written, adequately documented, and copiously illustrated history of what was originally known as New Jersey College for Women, on whose history faculty he served for thirty years (1930-1960)—twenty of them as department chairman.

With a deft hand and a light touch, Professor Schmidt has sketched in the first fifty years (1918-1968) of a successful effort, sparked largely by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs, to "offer a liberal education as well as preprofessional training of high caliber to as many qualified young women of New Jersey as could be accommodated." Aided by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which provided funds to teach home economics at land-grant colleges, an affiliation was worked out whereby the Women's College (renamed Douglass in 1955) became one of the coordinate units of Rutgers. Douglass, like many such institutions, struggled to maintain its autonomy and identity; simultaneously, it shared in most of the administrative complications that beset Rutgers as the latter made the transition from a private institution with colonial origins to an officially full-fledged state university in 1956.

In most respects the story of Douglass College has a familiar ring. There were the faltering start and the uncertain future. There was the devoted handful, dominated by Mrs. Mabel Smith Douglass, whose towering leadership for the first fifteen years made the new college "the lengthened shadow of its Dean." There were such problems as faculty recruitment and status, curriculum, financing, and physical plant (including the gymnasium, a "temporary" structure built of World War I surplus packing boxes and still in use in the early 1960's). In the seven chronologically arranged chapters, full coverage is given to the student body and to outstanding personalities in the faculty and administration.

Emphasizing the human element rather than the institutional, and writing frankly "a somewhat informal history," the author has succeeded admirably in capturing the life spirit of an educational enterprise that has been neither excitingly unique nor precedent shattering in its evolution. The history of a college, by its very nature, makes its first claim on and greatest appeal to those who have been associated with it; this work is no exception. At the same time, the author has added a modest but sturdy building block to the edifice of American educational history.

Tufts University

RUSSELL E. MILLER

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: AN AMERICAN CONSCIENCE. By *Tamara K. Hareven*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1968. Pp. xx, 326. \$7.50.)

ANNA ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: THE EVOLUTION OF A REFORMER. By *James R. Kearney*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1968. Pp. xvi, 332. \$5.95.)

THE subject of these two biographies poses a fascinating challenge to historiography: how to analyze and assess the career of a compelling figure who never held a significant public office, who nevertheless seems to have exercised considerable influence in an incredible variety of local, national, and international situations for more than three decades, and who did so through a never-ending flow of open and well-documented activities? If there is a plethora and not a shortage of data, if the biographee publicly recorded her reactions to all her experiences, and if there are no role expectations with which to compare her with other leaders, what is the task of the biographer? Which of four possible research strategies does he follow: Does he seek to reconstruct what she actually did? Does he try to explain why she did what she did? Does he attempt to assess the extent of her influence on public affairs? Does he undertake an effort to outline why she was able, as a private citizen, to exert influence for more than a third of a century?

The authors of these two books pursued identical strategies, and, unfortunately, they chose to follow the easiest and, in my judgment, the least interesting ones. They both confined themselves exclusively to the first two strategies. Mrs. Roosevelt's activities are depicted in great detail (especially by Hareven, who carried the account through her UN years to her death in 1962, whereas Kearney does not extend his analysis beyond her husband's death in 1945). Both authors make full use of the voluminous materials of the Roosevelt era and judiciously and qualifiedly offer evidence from Mrs. Roosevelt's own writings. They are

also are careful to note that her own explanations of her own behavior were not always reliable—that she could be remarkably trite and superficial in her analysis of her own behavior and that of others.

This very reliance on the writings of Mrs. Roosevelt and officialdom of her husband's era, however, prevents both authors from moving beyond strict biographical questions to more interesting queries about the extent of Mrs. Roosevelt's influence and the aspects of American politics and society that allowed her to be influential. To ask questions about the extent of her influence is to ask about the structure of American society, but Hareven and Kearney limited their systematic analysis to Mrs. Roosevelt, and thus their work does not go beyond conventional biography. Since Mrs. Roosevelt's attitudes and activities have long since been well documented, these books add little that is new to knowledge about her. To be sure, there are frequent references to the influence that accrued to her as a result of being a presidential wife, but both authors argue that other factors also account for her accomplishments. Using a simple and common-sense psychological mode of interpretation, they are inclined to seek other factors in her personality and experience—her lonely childhood, her amazing energy, her unending generosity, and her profound humanity—but they are not disposed to probe the milieu and era in which she lived for factors that explain her attainments.

In sum, these books amply demonstrate that Mrs. Roosevelt was a great human being, but they do not illuminate the relationship between her greatness and the tormented times in which it occurred. Reading them gratifies the need to believe that humanity and compassion can operate at the center of the public stage, but does not satisfy the desire to know how, when, and why the confluence of historical forces can give rise to such an actor.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

JAMES N. ROSENAU

MEMOIRS, 1925–1950. By *George F. Kennan*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1967. Pp. 583. \$10.00.)

THIS widely acclaimed volume—recipient of the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award—can be read as the first installment in the autobiography of an eminent historian; as the intellectual odyssey of a sensitive student of international relations; as an instructive portrait of a professional diplomat, alienated from society and impatient with domestic pressures; as a contribution to the historiography of the cold war; and as a commentary on decision making in recent American foreign policy. It is immensely useful in each area and, like all of Kennan's works, beautifully written. Four of the twenty chapters carry the story to September 1939; six cover his wartime duties in Berlin, Lisbon, London, and Moscow; ten deal with his activities, mostly as chairman of the Policy Planning Staff, after returning to the State Department in May 1946. The book ends in August 1950 with Kennan's initial retirement to a scholar's life at the Institute for Advanced Study.

More concerned with ideas about foreign policy than day-to-day diplomacy, Kennan does not rely on memory, but draws upon published materials and a wide array of personal manuscripts. These last include a detailed diary, kept

as early as 1927 but with what regularity we are not told; travel notes; memorandums that his superiors never placed in the department's files; stenographic reports of the extemporaneous speeches; texts of lectures delivered at the National War College; and, to a lesser degree, excerpts from private letters and unprinted dispatches. A few documents he could not use for security reasons. There are extended quotations in the text and the appendixes, and a series of papers originating in Prague in 1938-1939 has been published separately.

Specialists will differ over the most valuable features of the book. I would cite the story of Kennan's training to be a Russian expert, his description of the Moscow embassy from 1933 to 1937, his explanation of the demise in 1937 of the Division of Eastern European Affairs, his two successful appeals to Roosevelt in 1943-1944 when the State Department seemed to be yielding supinely to the military, his consistency in rejecting Russia as a fit ally, his limited role in drafting the Truman Doctrine, and his candid admission that he had expressed badly his ideas in the *Foreign Affairs* article that made him famous. He tells something about the Policy Planning Staff and the reason why its influence diminished after Secretary Marshall retired. The account of his work in Moscow from 1944 to 1946 is less novel and contains little new on the decision to terminate lend-lease or to use the atom bomb. Throughout, Kennan includes illuminating vignettes of statesmen he knew. In these, the oft-forgotten professional diplomat comes off best; the amateurs and the politicians frequently appear in an unfavorable light.

By August 1950, Kennan was at odds with many of Truman's policies and had been for some time. He felt his ideas on containment had been perverted so as to perpetuate the cold war and to make impossible any meaningful solution to the German problem or the unification of Europe. Having vainly opposed the formation of a West German government, the conclusion of the North Atlantic Treaty, the negotiation of a peace settlement with Japan, the development of thermonuclear weapons, and the practice of blocking Communist China's admission to the United Nations, he decided that he could exert more influence outside the government than within. It is too early to tell whether he was correct, but his withdrawal to Princeton left him free not only to speak out on current issues but also to produce several volumes, including these *Memoirs*, which any historian would be proud to list in his bibliography.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

ILLUSTRIOUS IMMIGRANTS: THE INTELLECTUAL MIGRATION
FROM EUROPE, 1930-41. By *Laura Fermi*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 440. \$7.95.)

This book, written by the widow of the distinguished physicist Enrico Fermi, attempts to analyze and assess the impact of the prewar immigration of intellectuals into the United States. She deals with the American environment to which they came, their European background, their road to America, and their achievements in this country. A large file of immigrant biographies from all of the European countries provides the foundation upon which the book is built. Although written with much charm, the book fails in its purpose.

Mrs. Fermi did not intend to include all intellectuals who fled from Europe, but her criteria for selection seem very loose and at times personal. Moreover, she describes, rather than analyzes; the effect of the European milieu upon the thought and actions of these immigrants receives only superficial treatment. For example, Edward Teller is mentioned, but nothing is said about the possible effect of his experiences in Béla Kun's Hungary upon his actions in America.

The one-sided emphasis upon the achievements of these intellectuals and their contribution to the war effort prevents a discussion of those who were skeptical about the possibilities of American society and who were to attack it after the war. The critical spirit of such intellectuals, which had its roots in the Weimar Republic, made them increasingly important on the American scene. This proved more significant, in the long run, than the Vienna school of philosophy to which she devotes some attention. The Institute of Social Research is discussed briefly, but nothing is said about the vital role this immigration played in the revival of Marxist studies. The book tends to transform all immigrants into good liberals (Arnold Brecht is discussed at some length, while Bertolt Brecht gets only passing mention). The opposition of some intellectual immigrants to the American consensus did not emerge from the acculturation she praises so highly but from the fact that American pluralism allowed them to remain aloof from the dominant modes of thought and action.

American generosity is rightly stressed, but it does not tell the whole story. Thomas Mann's fear that his passport might be revoked hurried his departure to Europe. The author is at her best when dealing with the scientific world she knew, and the interviews she summarizes in the text are among the most valuable parts of the book. It seems ungenerous to find fault with a work that is so obviously a labor of love and that passes no harsh judgments on the men and women who fill its pages. A serious analysis of this immigration, with all its repercussions on American life and politics, remains to be written, however, though it may well lack the amiability and dedication of this book.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSE

JOHN FOSTER DULLES. By *Louis L. Gerson*. [The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, Volume XVII.] (New York: Cooper Square Publishers. 1967. Pp. xiv, 372. \$7.95.)

THIS is the first study based on Secretary Dulles' personal papers, which are deposited in the Princeton University Library. Despite these welcome additions to our knowledge about the Secretary's motivations and his reactions to other statesmen and their possible motivations, the book is disappointing in some other respects. I am hard pressed, consequently, to stay within the admonitions and strictures against criticizing an author for not writing a different book. In part this difficulty may be explained (with great sympathy) by reference to the assignment that confronted Professor Gerson: to write a book in a series on "American Secretaries of State" that will appeal to the reading public and yet somehow please scholars who are anxious to know what new materials there are in the private papers of a "controversial" figure.

As a result, the book is overweighted toward reliance on the Dulles Papers;

assessments are nearly always those of the Secretary himself, while critical estimates are generally relegated only to the footnotes or commented upon in the bibliographical essay at the end. The author has missed a chance also to develop on his own some of the new insights that he has evidently discovered in the manuscript sources. These new findings are too often brought forward as short quips or phrases pinched off inside parentheses, or stopped short before tall exclamation points.

Nearly a quarter of the text is devoted to the pre-1953 period and to a summary of speeches and articles by Dulles, which do afford the reader a condensation of the future Secretary of State's ideas on meeting the Russian-Communist challenge. There is disappointingly little on Dulles as adviser to the Secretary of State at various meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers. His work on the Japanese peace treaty is much more satisfactorily developed. The most detailed sections of the latter part of the book are given over to Asian problems. Gerson has a tendency in discussing Southeast Asia to make background statements with the straight face of a State Department press officer.

Thus, on post-Geneva Vietnam he concludes: "The Hanoi government decided to unite all of Vietnam through guerilla raids and acts of terror. The Vietcong (communist-led insurrectionists in South Vietnam) grew from roughly 3,000 well-trained soldiers to over 12,000. Their activities ended the miracle of South Vietnam, opened a new chapter in the bloody history of Indochina and eventually led to large-scale American military involvement." Within such a framework, of course, all of Dulles' decisions leading up to the creation of SEATO and after can be justified as simple responses to the Communist menace.

Gerson is better in discussing Dulles' most obvious public weakness—his unerring choice of just the wrong word or phrase to describe his policies. As the author explains about one of those phrases, "the true meaning of neutrality as opposed to the immorality of neutralism was confusing; at times it confused Dulles himself, or so it seemed."

The level of analysis throughout the book is suggested by the final paragraph: "The Democratic Party could not question Dulles' strength of character and love of country. The young Senator John F. Kennedy, . . . author of *Profiles in Courage*, added the Republican Secretary of State to his gallery: 'The name of John Foster Dulles will not quickly fade from honor.' Dulles, he wrote, was a controversial man who chose policies which, 'in his conscience and judgment, would allow the American people to make their greatest contribution to peace and freedom. In that faith he toiled heroically against grievous odds.' Dulles, by this time gone, would have been proud to see himself in such a gallant profile."

The Dulles Papers are going to afford scholars a second look at many of the foreign policy issues of the postwar period. Gerson has opened the lid a bit, but even a sympathetically disposed reviewer may well find himself distracted from what is being suggested by the tone of this encomium, which concludes with a casual analysis aimed at Sunday morning readers of the *American Weekly*.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

LLOYD C. GARDNER

EARL WARREN: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Leo Katcher*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1967. Pp. 502. \$8.50.)

EARL Warren may possibly be accounted among the half-dozen most important political figures of the generation just passing from the scene. Until his papers are available to scholars, most of what is written about him, like the biographies by Stone (1948) and Weaver (1967), is likely to remain journalism. Katcher's book is no exception, but it is the best to appear so far and is well worth the attention of historians.

Properly told, Warren's story yields rich insights. His political record was phenomenal. The son of immigrant parents from Norway and Sweden, he graduated from the University of California and earned a law degree in a day when few children of working families attended college. In 1926, at the age of thirty-five, he was elected district attorney of Alameda County, twice thereafter won re-election, and in 1938 became attorney general for the state by winning the primary races in both parties. In 1942, 1946, and 1950 he won the governorship in smashing victories, once by sweeping both primaries as he had before, and served longer than any governor in the history of the state. Only once—in 1948, as Dewey's running mate—did he lose an election. Appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1953, he has served fifteen years, longer than all but three of his fourteen predecessors. His service in government spans fifty years, over half of them in elective office. No other Chief Justice in American history has brought to the post as lengthy and successful a political career.

Warren's success owes much to his administrative integrity, his executive energy and skill, and his capacity for getting along with all kinds of people, but historians are likely to discover even greater significance in the sagacity that he displayed as a moderate liberal in the Republican party. He began his public life with support from Joseph Knowland in opposition to the Hiram Johnson progressives; in 1934 he rose to become the Republican state chairman for Frank Merriam's conservative campaign against Upton Sinclair. Two years later, however, at an age when many men moved Right, Warren began to move Left, and he continued to move Left for the rest of his career. In a battle for control of the state's delegation to the 1936 national convention, he defeated the regulars, led by Hearst and the Hoover forces, and aligned his party with the Landon liberals. In the 1940's as a wartime and postwar governor he supported the blend of progressive administrative reform, social welfare, and multiple interest legislation that had characterized both the New Deal and the administration of Warren's Democratic predecessor, Culbert Olson. He pushed hard for new schools, public housing and health insurance, welfare services, an FEPC, and moderate favors for labor, though on most other matters, including fiscal policy and civil liberties, he remained a conservative. Even so, he gained from the legislature less than half of what he sought, and orthodox Republicans tried bitterly to destroy his influence. They might have succeeded had he not been permitted as Chief Justice to accomplish more important nationwide reforms than possibly any Republican has achieved in the history of the party. The Brown decision was not, of course, solely the product of the Warren Court, but Warren's leadership apparently assured its scope and una-

nimity. No less forceful were the decisions concerning reapportionment, individual liberties in the face of national security laws and criminal proceedings, and the widening judicial ban on discrimination. Eisenhower, who offered the post to Warren with only mild hesitation after Dulles and Dewey had turned it down, appeared ultimately to regret the appointment, and the Warren Court subsequently won a larger measure of support from Kennedy and Johnson Democrats than it had ever received from Warren's own party. By 1968 the old Warren forces in California were crumbling before a resurgent Right Wing, and demands for the impeachment of the Chief Justice can still be heard on the fringes of society, but the revolution was accomplished.

Katcher, a novelist and former journalist, rests his account almost solely on newspapers, scholarly monographs, and interviews; Warren himself provided neither an interview nor access to private papers, and there is no evidence of the use of any other private papers or documents. The historian will be frustrated by inadequate references for the innumerable quotations and the almost total lack of specific citation for everything else; for this, and for the simplistic journalese of Katcher's format and language, he may indeed dismiss the book as not worth his professional attention. This would be wrong. Katcher organizes the voluminous public record of Warren's career with astonishing skill, he scrupulously offers a wide range of detail, and he shows a trained reporter's capacity for distinguishing fact from rumor, though he seldom makes explicit the gaps in what he knows or what the available record does not tell. His sympathy for the man is sophisticated and balanced. He lets us see, for example, that the Warren whom the nation will remember for liberal, judicial leadership had first to outgrow a conventional mind and its social prejudices.

What Katcher does not provide is political perspective. The New Deal, it has been said, made an older progressivism obsolete, yet at the height of the New Deal a state whose social values are thought to anticipate those of the nation gave extraordinary political acclaim to a man whose temper and convictions were unmistakably progressive, who fought against party machines and wore nonpartisanship like a crown, but who, without seeming to, mastered politics with a professionalism few save Roosevelt could match. It is also perhaps not unimportant that it took a neoprogressive like Warren to lead the highest court, and hence the nation, at last to commit itself, as not even the New Deal had fully done, to the politics of equal opportunity and to the protection of the underprivileged before the law. Katcher makes no surmises of this sort, but the story he tells at least permits others to make them, perhaps for the first time.

University of Washington

OTIS A. PEASE

THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT: ON BEACHHEAD AND BATTLEFRONT. By *Lida Mayo*. [U.S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U.S. Army. 1968. Pp. xix, 523. \$5.50.)

THE quality that first strikes the reader of this book is the vast, probably

impossible, spectrum covered. At one extreme are ordnance operations at the level of theater, and especially at the level of army. Within every theater but three, Alaska, the Caribbean, and the Atlantic, an ordnance story for all American armies is told. It is drawn from very voluminous documentary sources, as well as many secondary works and lengthy army histories. At the other extreme is the level of the company and the individual. For this the author draws from the histories and the afteraction reports of small units down to company. At that level we encounter human interest and heroism in such cases as that of the lieutenant who picked up a burning round of 155 millimeter ammunition and carried it by hand out of a large ammunition dump. The author shows skill in handling what could be an unmanageable mass of data, and she organizes it so well that the reader is never lost either in generalization at the theater level or in details at the company level.

One cannot help wondering whether a coverage that ranges so widely can do real justice to the story at any level, but, if it does not, that is no fault of the author or of the book but rather of the decision on the part of the Office of the Chief of Military History to try to do the impossible.

The narrative makes interesting reading, and handy scanning where the detail renders reading unnecessary. Scattered through it are short summaries of the progress of the war in general. These are useful to put the particular material in context, but they do not amount to a miniature coverage of the entire war; many episodes, in which the Ordnance Department had no part, such as the use of the atom bombs, are not even mentioned.

This volume contains nice analyses of our weapons and their trial in combat. The examination of the quality of American tanks in comparison with their German opponents is especially useful. The problem of coping with the German 88 millimeter gun is also handled well. So also are the stories of the bazooka and the flame thrower.

The usable format of the book, quality of paper, handsome pictures, good charts, and valuable scholarly apparatus are continued here in the same fine tradition as in the preceding volumes of this series. The book is more than worth its price.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

STALINGRAD TO BERLIN: THE GERMAN DEFEAT IN THE EAST.

By *Earl F. Ziemke*. [Army Historical Series.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U. S. Army. 1968. Pp. xiv, 549. \$4.50.)

THIS book, the first of a three-volume series covering World War II, deals with the war on Germany's eastern front from the fall of 1942 to the Soviet capture of Berlin in the spring of 1945. It is intended to investigate "how the war was won on the battlefield" and to "describe the manner in which the Soviet Union emerged as the predominant military power in Europe."

To accomplish these aims the author has made extensive use of a great variety of excellent German sources, from the memoirs of leading military figures to captured documents. Some selected Soviet sources have also been consulted. A more extensive use of Soviet sources, particularly those which have been

appearing since this book was drafted, might have added some supplementary and interesting, though not essential, information. The result of this type of research and orientation has been an excellent military history of the war in the east and a rather extensive analysis of the military and "political" situations facing the high commands and various commanders at important junctures in the campaign.

Stalingrad to Berlin, while not as interesting to the average nonspecialist as such popular works as Alexander Werth's *Russia at War, 1941-1945*, is far better documented and more complete in its handling of the military aspects of the campaign than are the other English-language accounts. The author, while adhering to his theme, the war in the East, does not lose his perspective and notes that "up to the time of the landing in Normandy, even though the Allies were actually engaged only in a secondary theater . . . on the balance the Allied and Soviet strategic accomplishments were about equal. The German strength was split about evenly between east and west."

Perhaps most interesting and thought provoking of all the analyses and conclusions presented in this account is that relating to the abortive German *Stargard* offensive of February 1945. This offensive, known under the code name of *Sonnenwende*, called for the German forces east of the Oder to attack from north and south in an attempt to pinch off the main Soviet thrust that had reached the Oder. This *Stargard* operation caused enough anxiety in Soviet headquarters to have them halt the main offensive toward Berlin and lose some six weeks in regrouping and securing their flanks. The author implies that this caution was not warranted by the actual situation and that, had the Soviets continued their great winter offensive, begun in January, they could very likely have swept all the way to the Rhine before the Western Allies would have been able to renew their offensive. Such a Russian advance would have placed virtually all of Central Europe and Germany in Russian hands and would have had an incalculable effect on the future history not only of Europe but of the world.

This is certainly an interesting conjecture, and it is possible that a truly imaginative and powerful Soviet thrust might have succeeded in bursting through Germany; this must, however, remain one of the great "ifs" of history. The German troops in the East were still not demoralized in February 1945. There is no assurance that the Soviets would have rolled up all opposition and reached the Rhine before the Allies renewed their advance. Fierce opposition was encountered by both Russian and Allied forces in Germany in March.

The historian of World War II should read this book.

University of Iowa

NORMAN LUXENBURG

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume VII, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 8333.] (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. x, 1710. \$5.50.)

This volume covers matters of regional interest and the individual diplomatic relations with all twenty Latin American nations. Each subdivision has been

allotted an appropriate amount of space, and the high editorial standards of the series are maintained.

Two themes dominate the diplomacy of the period: finishing the war and preparing for the postwar period. The State Department felt, by September 1943, that the progress of the war had removed the threat to the security of the hemisphere once created by the Axis from Africa, and it requested a new general policy on armament distribution to Latin America, which was developed during the year. Plans were also made for staff conferences between United States military and their Latin American counterparts, usually to be conducted under State Department supervision. The complexities of operating the Inter-American Coffee Agreement are demonstrated, and the final phases of wartime financing of the Inter-American Highway, Rama Road, and the Caribbean land-sea route are recorded. The Argentine problem occupies much space at both the regional and country level. It is obvious that the January threats against the Ramírez government were effective in bringing about the diplomatic break with the Axis only because Ramírez believed that the British were going to follow our lead, but when Perón learned the British were not going to join in economic sanctions, his group was free to take control. The subsequent Farrell-Perón regime weathered United States economic sanctions successfully because of a lack of support from Britain, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and others. The preliminaries to the Chapultepec Conference show Padilla's initiative, Latin America's concern to discuss postwar problems, and United States failure to sell the idea that the Farrell regime was a serious threat to hemisphere security. In the matter of extending recognition to the new Bolivian government, the decision was made on the basis of an inspection by Ambassador Avra Warren, but his report is not printed. The military aviation agreement with Brazil was concluded in June, and final arrangements were made to send a Brazilian force to the European theater. Negotiations with Ecuador over the postwar use of the Galápagos Islands continued throughout the year. President Avila Camacho asked that a Mexican air squadron be used in the Pacific theater to fulfill a promise to Quezon to help free the Philippines, and the close cooperation between Mexico and the United States to control the effects of the war on the Mexican economy are truly impressive.

University of Houston

CHARLES A. BACARISSE

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume II, GENERAL: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MATTERS. [Department of State Publication 8314.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. vi, 1577. \$5.25.)

This volume contains documents on twenty-seven different topics, many of interest primarily to specialists in economics, shipping, and trade. Among the subjects of more general interest are those relating to the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Quebec Conference of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, and the interest of the United States in displaced persons and in the transfer of German populations.

The most important records of a political nature are those of the first

session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which met at London, September 11–October 2, 1945, and the conference of the Big Three Foreign Ministers, which met at Moscow, December 16–26, 1945. Almost half of the volume is devoted to these two conferences. The London meeting, which included the Foreign Ministers of France and China in addition to those of the Big Three, was marked by sharp disagreements over the terms of an Italian peace treaty, the unrepresentative character of the Rumanian and Bulgarian governments, the presence of British troops in Greece, and many other issues—an acrimony that reached its peak when Molotov bluntly accused the Truman administration of helping the British in all sorts of “dubious and unlovely affairs” and of reversing the Roosevelt policy of friendship toward Russia. When Molotov insisted that the invitations to France and China to participate in the conference had been a mistake and that they be ousted, the conference broke up without achieving any significant success.

The records of the Moscow Conference of the Big Three Foreign Ministers, by contrast, recount negotiations that attained at least some agreement on important issues. Among these were the terms for the establishment of a Far Eastern Commission, agreement on broadening the governments of Rumania and Bulgaria, and, most significant of all, the precise delineation of the procedures for the preparation of peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, and the calling of the Paris Peace Conference.

The records of the London and Moscow meetings are invaluable sources for the study of Anglo-American-Russian relations in the four months following the conclusion of World War II. They also greatly illuminate both the diplomatic conferences that preceded those meetings and the cold war that followed.

Tulane University

RAYMOND A. ESTHUS

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume V, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 8343.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. vii, 1349. \$4.50.)

HERE is an important collection of papers for the student of the origin of the cold war. Most of the volume covers, in general, American relations with the Soviet Union and, more specifically, relations with Poland—one of the keys to the complex and continuing controversial question of responsibility for the failure of post-war cooperation among the major powers. It carefully documents reactions of American and British policy makers—Averell Harriman, George Kennan, Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and others—to Soviet actions and developing policies during that fateful year, 1945, the year of victory in Europe and Asia. The record manifests the pathetic efforts of Washington to convince the Soviet Union of its desire to collaborate in the postwar period without defining the meaning of collaboration. Particularly significant are those papers illuminating the tangled story of lend-lease, problems of the future Polish boundaries, recognition of a Polish government, reciprocal repatriation of the American and Soviet prisoners of war liberated by Allied forces, and the Kravchenko case.

George Kennan should be pleased to know that the main portion of his important and perceptive memorandum, “Russia’s International Position at the Close

of the War with Germany," of May 1945 is published here. In his *Memoirs, 1925-1950*, Kennan states that he has no evidence that it was ever forwarded to Washington. The editors of this volume noted that their copy of the memorandum was obtained from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park; it is regrettable that there is no indication whether FDR or anyone in the Department of State read it.

In addition to the documents on the Soviet Union and Poland, the volume also contains official papers on the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

University of Connecticut

LOUIS L. GERSON

THE FACES OF POWER: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY FROM TRUMAN TO JOHNSON. By *Seyom Brown*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 397. \$8.95.)

WRITTEN by a research staff member of the RAND Corporation, this is a good, useful book, not in the sense that it exploits new sources or advances a single thesis that unifies the post-1945 era (it does neither), but because it provides an intelligent evaluation of the material provided, for example, by the memoirs of Truman, Eisenhower, Emmet John Hughes, Sorensen, and Schlesinger.

Brown explores the continuity of policy since 1945, emphasizing how the administrations essentially agreed in their views of Communism and in their reliance upon military power. But he argues that, after the mid-1950's, a tactical change was attempted when policy makers realized that "nonmilitary power" had to play an increased role because the policy was becoming "oriented increasingly . . . toward the less developed Third World." Brown exemplifies this change with a fine, detailed analysis of American policy in the Middle East during 1957 and 1958, focusing on the relatively neglected Syrian crisis.

The section on the Truman years is less helpful than later chapters. The President was more candid about his feelings regarding the Soviets than is indicated (he was quite blunt in his Navy Day speech of 1945), the Acheson-Lilienthal Plan was not "in effect" the Baruch Plan, and for some reason the detailed analysis of Korea never includes an explanation of why the United States moved above the thirty-eighth parallel. The section on the 1950's perhaps accepts too uncritically Hughes's thesis on the differences between Eisenhower and Dulles, but this part is excellent on the nonmilitary side of Dulles' policy and particularly on the frequent difficulties encountered when Washington acted unilaterally (as in Guatemala and the Middle East) after making multilateral pledges; this problem, indeed, is one of the main themes of the book. The analysis of Kennedy, although heavily military oriented, is perhaps the best short statement available. Brown emphasizes the policy divisions within the administration that doubly ensured that the President would never be able to transcend fully his "Cold War rhetoric," not even after the test-ban. There is a brief but suggestive section relating how Kennedy, more so than Eisenhower, worked to integrate the American with, and thus, it was hoped, control, the international economic system, and the effect of this policy.

The title more accurately states the contents than either the preface, which promises to examine "the basic policy premises," or Chapter I, which discusses "national interest." If such a discussion of military and economic tactics is accepted as an analysis of the content and motivations of the basic "national interest," then this is an implicit example of how much Americans have mooted discussion of their institutional system since Beard dissected the "national interest" three decades ago. Preface and first chapter aside, this is a good re-evaluation of how "the faces of power" have, as a tactical problem, been too often a Sphinx-like puzzle to American policy makers in the cold war.

Cornell University

WALTER LAFEBER

HELL OR HIGH WATER: MACARTHUR'S LANDING AT INCHON. By *Walt Sheldon*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. x, 340. \$7.95.)

THE assault landing at Inchon in September 1950 was one of the most dramatic events in the Korean War, ending nearly three months of defeat and desperate defense and signaling the beginning of victory. A bold and dangerous undertaking, mounted in incredibly short time against a poorly charted beach with vast tidal ranges, uncertain currents, and a high sea wall, the Inchon landing was probably unrivaled in the history of American amphibious operations. Its success in the face of great odds was a tribute as much to the imagination and self-confidence of one man, General Douglas MacArthur, as to the courageous efforts of the thousands of individuals who carried it out. How necessary the operation was, actually, and whether its effects were not, in the long run, less salutary than unfortunate are questions more widely debated today than during the hectic period of the Korean War.

Hell or High Water does not address itself to these problems. It provides, instead, a dramatic, episodic, and somewhat impressionistic narrative of the planning and execution of Operation CHROMITE, as the assault was code named. The author has followed the popular technique of focusing on individuals or small groups of men, sketching in the general background to provide continuity, and relying on one exciting or colorful vignette after another to maintain reader interest. His account is based largely on personal interviews and published materials, although he appears to have done limited research in documentary sources. The book adds little of significance to what we already know and, unfortunately, is marred by a succession of petty, careless, irritating errors. It is, in short, a rather unsatisfactory work, to be used with care.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

STANLEY L. FALK

THE WARREN COURT: CONSTITUTIONAL DECISION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REFORM. By *Archibald Cox*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. vi, 144. \$4.95.)

ARCHIBALD COX, Samuel Williston Professor of Law at Harvard and from 1961 to 1965 Solicitor General of the United States, writes about the Warren Court with extraordinary insight and professional competence. He maintains that the Court has been confronted with a basic dilemma—how to achieve the goals of

society without impairing the usefulness of the institution—and he concludes that the dilemma is insoluble. Furthermore, he argues very convincingly that the craftsmanship in some of the crucial opinions of the Warren Court has been inadequate. “The Court’s power to give its decisions the force of legitimacy,” he writes, “ultimately depends upon its professional artistry in weaving wise statecraft into the fabric of law.” He believes, nevertheless, that the decisions of the Warren Court have been “in keeping with the mainstream of American history—a bit progressive but also moderate, a bit humane but not sentimental, a bit idealistic but seldom doctrinaire, and in the long run essentially pragmatic—in short, in keeping with the true genius of our institutions.”

Cox’s book reviews some of the leading decisions of the Warren Court in respect to civil rights, the reform of criminal procedure, free speech and association, voting rights, and legislative reapportionment. He ascribes the activism of the Court to the failure of the other branches of the government and the states to respond adequately to the dominant needs of our age. “The Warren Court,” he asserts, “has been most activist in areas where the politicians were blind to fundamental justice.”

In seeking to spell out the requirements of justice, Cox argues, the Court has been responding to basic forces in American life, such as the demand for racial justice, the commitment to egalitarianism, the belief that government has an affirmative duty to eliminate inequalities and provide opportunities, a concern for the protection of personal liberty and privacy against governmental intrusion, and the findings of modern psychology. In responding to these forces, the Warren Court, unlike some previous Courts, has not sought to thwart representative democracy, but rather has been moving with the current.

Our experience with the Warren Court has served to underscore the limitations as well as the potentialities of judicial power. Thus Cox maintains that the revolution in civil rights in which the nation is involved requires legislative as well as judicial action and that for many purposes the former is to be preferred. It is paradoxical that one consequence of the activism of the Warren Court has been to strengthen the representativeness of our legislative institutions. Whether this will result in filling the vacuum into which judicial power has been flowing remains to be seen, though there are some signs of a growing legislative response to the country’s needs.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID FELLMAN

THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION: 1957–1965. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. ([East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 274. \$7.50.)

BASED chiefly upon the published reports and hearings of the commission, newspaper accounts, and the unpublished minutes of the meetings of the commissioners, this volume is, in the main, a routine survey dealing for the most part with what is already public knowledge. Most of the book consists of descriptions of hearings held and reports issued. Only the author’s use of Chairman John A. Hannah’s personal files gives us some glimpses of what was going on behind the scenes.

The book documents the way in which the commission changed from a body composed primarily of southerners and northern moderates to a group of men passionately dedicated to the attainment of racial equality. It also documents, without ever quite explaining, the feud between the commission and the Justice Department, which existed, simmered, and occasionally exploded, no matter who was Attorney General. Robert F. Kennedy, in particular, is depicted as one who attempted to thwart the legitimate investigations of the commission into disfranchisement and white brutality in Mississippi.

From the evidence presented by Mr. Dulles, every reader must be impressed with how, time after time, the commission made recommendations that were considered too radical or advanced, only to see them enacted into law later on. Unfortunately, however, the author does not make the commission's contribution to the national civil rights legislation of the last few years as explicit as he should. He chooses rather to emphasize the commission's contribution as a fact-finding agency.

The index is inadequate, and, when dealing with matters in the general history of Negroes or the civil rights movement, the author is prone to factual error. An adequate history of the commission, based upon comprehensive use of the commission's archives and other relevant manuscript sources, is yet to be written.

Kent State University

AUGUST MEIER

AMERICA IN THE SIXTIES: AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *Ronald Berman*. (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 291. \$7.95.)

SURELY the 1960's will be looked back upon as one of the most bizarre cultural periods in American history. Three years ago Arnold Toynbee informed reporters, after visiting San Francisco's flowering Haight-Ashbury district, that America was undergoing a spiritual renaissance. Today residents walk through that same neighborhood almost in fear.

Ronald Berman's fine book ventures no lofty predictions. His scope is nothing less than the major cultural issues of this troubled decade: the Jewish writer and his sensibility to suffering; the end of the ideology of politics and the beginning of the ideology of orgone; the hippies as "New Mutants" (Fiedler's phrase); the literature of *negritude* and homosexuality; the intellectual and his two latent obsessions: identity and power; the white liberal and black militant; the endless debates—Goodman and Rieff on Freud, Hughes and Hook on the cold war, Eastman and Buckley on religion, Ellison and Howe on literature; and, finally, everyone's cross of conscience: Vietnam. Berman also devotes three chapters to the "New Left," undoubtedly the greatest political surprise to erupt in the calm wake of those fanatically moderate Eisenhower years. Often severe, occasionally sympathetic, Berman discusses the Left's definition of liberalism as "fascism"; Marcuse, whose ponderous metahistory has, in true dialectical fashion, begat America its first vanguard of budding *pistoleros*; the debate over ideological purity, coalition politics, and practical programs; Berkeley, the teach-in, the campus peace movement, and other rumblings shaking the academic world. It is impossible to summarize Berman's views on all these issues; it is enough to mention that he has

little patience with the more antinomian militants who reach for intuition when asked for information. "Its existential bias," he writes of the New Left, "reduced all political demands to a desire for vitality, and its famous distinction between 'form' and 'essence' permitted it to compare democratic uncertainties unfavorably with totalitarian directness."

A professor of English steeped in the classics, Berman displays a refreshing detachment from the ideological passions of the day, a shrewd and learned discrimination, and an almost Veblenian sense of irony and wit. He is at his best with literature, especially the tensions between the "prophets" (as, Burroughs) and the "functionaries" (as, Trilling) and particularly the underground literary currents (as, *Kulchur* and its doctrine of "redemptive genitality"). Critical of the contemporary writers' use of the black man as a symbol of unrepressed primitivism, he is caustic regarding the politics of ecstasy in Mailer's *An American Dream*: "the chapter in the *Confessions* of St. Augustine on robbing a pear-tree is infinitely more dangerous than Mailer's shadow-boxing with the ultimate. Eventually there is the appeal to experience; no man who has ever been in a whorehouse will take seriously the claims of sodomy to damnation. As for confusing it with salvation—to each his own." But Berman shows perhaps less "experience" when dealing with historical matters. For example, he challenges Hofstadter's claim that Joe McCarthy "abruptly dropped the old right-wing appeal to anti-Semitism" by maintaining that anti-Semitism "is not a *position* but an aspect of permanence. It is not 'dropped' nor is it 'picked up,' but remains characteristic." At best this is an open question; at least Berman should be aware that demagogues from Tom Watson to Mussolini turned on anti-Semitism almost at will.

Since Berman's work is subtitled *An Intellectual History* perhaps students in the field are entitled to a caveat. One wonders about the validity of writing a "history" of an unfinished decade. History is nothing if not hindsight, and even if we cannot ask of Berman a judgment on the past, we might at least expect some sense of perspective. How, for example, does the intellectual rebellion of the 1960's compare to that of the 1920's; or, more specifically, how does Mailer's Neo-Reichianism compare to Floyd Dell's Pan-Freudianism? Finally, Berman's own point of view is not fully developed. In an opening section on "Intellectuals and History" he astutely discusses the controversy surrounding the reception of Peter Gay's *The Party of Humanity*. Here Berman's cautious remarks suggest a conservative's regard for the moral order of the pre-Enlightenment world. "What is so remarkable," he adds, "is that we are in a state of ambivalence, committed explicitly to the Enlightenment, yet drawn to the irrational and mysterious attractions of belief." But this antinomic theme, which runs through American intellectual history from Puritanism to beyond pragmatism, illuminates little the uniquely frantic mood of the 1960's. Though Berman's study is exceedingly knowledgeable, if all he is suggesting is that we are witnessing a noisy encore of what the transcendentalists called the war between "the heart and the head," he is giving us weeds when we ask for grass.

San Francisco State College

JOHN P. DIGGINS

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. By *Gerald M. Craig*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. 376. \$7.95.)

THIS book, the seventeenth to appear in the Harvard University Press's "American Foreign Policy Library" series, is an excellent and comprehensive survey of Canadian history, of the Canadian-American relationship, and of Canadian problems today. The greatest of these problems is indicated by the fact that Canada had to be the seventeenth in line (after the Balkans, the Southwest Pacific, and North Africa) to be served at this cafeteria of knowledge, and that some of the books in the series—a venture first launched a quarter of a century ago by Sumner Welles and Donald C. McKay—have been around long enough to go into second and third editions. That Americans tend to ignore Canada is well known; Professor Craig, a distinguished Canadian historian, trained at the University of Minnesota, teaching in the University of Toronto, and author of two previous books of quality and importance, gives us an urbane demonstration of why this is so. Perhaps crowning the argument is the fact that the series' most recent editor, Crane Brinton, refers to Gerald Craig, the Canadianist, as Gordon Craig, the Germanist, in his own editor's note.

Craig begins by asking whether the continued existence of Canada is a northern miracle. He then examines, in four succinct chapters, the land, the people, and the political and economic life of Canada, implying without arguing that they provide Canadians with distinctive characteristics by which they are set apart from other North Americans. Twelve compact historical chapters follow, moving from French settlement to 1967, with emphasis on the recent past. Five chapters, on Canadian issues and problems and how they influence, and are influenced by, the Canadian-American relationship, conclude the book. There are a selective, and excellent, list of suggested readings and a brief appendix of facts about Canada, together with end paper maps. The standard of printing and proofreading, save in the preface, are of the highest.

Much is already known about Canadian-American relations, and there are many specialized studies ranging from the twenty-five volumes in "The Relations of Canada and the United States" series, published between 1936 and 1945, to detailed and as yet unpublished dissertations. Craig is writing for a wide-ranging, literate, and nonspecialist audience; to that audience he has much to say that will be found new, and he says it gracefully and with a sense of irony. His conclusion that there are distinct differences between Canada and the United States, in policy, attitudes, and culture, will not be found new to specialists, but will be nonetheless salutary for the general reader. One could scarcely find a better place to begin learning about the "unknown country" than with this synthesis, which tells of a nation that is, as Craig suggests (borrowing from an alleged Mexican saying), "So far from God, so near to the United States."

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

CRITICS OF SOCIETY: RADICAL THOUGHT IN NORTH AMERICA.

By *T. B. Bottomore*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. 150. \$4.95.)

THIS survey originated as a series of talks for the Canadian Broadcasting Corpora-

tion, and one wishes that all international boundaries were crossed by inquiries so timely and by reports so sympathetic with the neighbors. Although the "North America" in the title indicates that radicalism in both the United States and Canada is the subject, and Canadian radicalism is given about one-sixth of the space, there is no attempt to consolidate the treatment. Canada, a home of loyalists, did not experience, as the United States did, a strong deep flow of social criticism from the times and values of the Great Enlightenment. Radical protest there came late, mainly in the channels of the western Social Credit movement of depression years, and in those of socialism and Quebec nationalism recently. These matters are gathered and set apart in just one chapter; except for a few comparisons and allusions the rest of the book belongs to radicalism south of the boundary.

Although men and movements from 1875 to 1950 are passed in rapid review, Bottomore makes today's new radicalism the business of half his pages. As a sociologist, a writer on social classes and elites and on Karl Marx's ideas, he draws mainly on well-known, often popular, sociological literature; often his discussion is simply a commentary on the writings and opinions of David Riesman and C. Wright Mills. Although it would be hard to have a firmer base, this approach seems to prevent his appreciating, or at any rate prevent his stating, the essential individualism of contemporary radicals. Our new radicals are only secondarily interested in reorganization; their (selective) Marxism notwithstanding, they are more like anarchists than socialists. They are equalitarian and antimilitarist in passion, existentialist in philosophy; liberty is their preoccupation, and the establishment is their enemy. Bottomore is neither unfriendly nor uninformed, but he has not summed them up.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

PROFILES OF A PROVINCE: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ONTARIO. [A collection of essays commissioned by the Ontario Historical Society to commemorate the centennial of Ontario.] (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society. 1967. Pp. xii, 233.)

IN 1867 the colony of Upper Canada became the province of Ontario in the new Dominion of Canada. *Profiles of a Province*, edited with admirable skill by Miss Edith G. Firth of the Toronto Public Library, reviews and assesses some of the achievements of Ontario during the past century.

This book is a collection of twenty-six essays covering a wide range of subjects and reflecting the special interests of the authors. Part I, called "The Making of a Province," contains finely proportioned studies of such subjects as the United Empire Loyalists (J. J. Talman), the reform movement in Upper Canada (Fred Hamil), and the "atmosphere of crisis" on the eve of Confederation (C. P. Stacey). Part II, "The Political Scene," has seven essays, all done with intelligence and judgment. Of particular interest and importance are "Democracy and the Ontario Fathers of Confederation" (Bruce W. Hodgins), "The Mowat Era, 1872-1896: Stability and Progress" (A. Margaret Evans), "The Ontario Boundary Question" (Morris Zaslow), "James P. Whitney and the University of Toronto" (Charles W. Humphries), and "That Tory Hepburn" (Neil McKenty).

Part III, on "Aspects of Ontario's Economy," contains five essays about On-

tario's early economic history (H. A. Innis), the beginning of the Canadian oil industry between 1850 and 1866 (Edward Phelps), the impact of the coming of hydroelectric power to Ontario (R. N. Beattie), the changing patterns of tourism in Ontario (R. I. Wolfe), and agricultural settlement on the Canadian shield from the Ottawa River region to Georgian Bay (Florence B. Murray).

In Part IV ("The Ontario Outlook") five writers discuss the religious tradition of Upper Canada (John S. Moir), educational leadership in Ontario during the past century (Robert W. Stamp), the old buildings of Ontario (W. S. Goulding), landscape painting in Upper Canada (J. Russell Harper), and modern literature in Ontario (William H. Magee). A sixth essay, "Captain Charles Stuart, Abolitionist," by Fred Landon, shows the author's usual fine scholarship and demonstrates once more that few Canadians can match the skill and power of his prose.

This work will repay study by any reader interested in the accomplishments of the people of Ontario during the past century. It is scholarly, well written, and easily one of the best collections of essays published in Canada in recent years.

Wayne State University

GOLDWIN SMITH

LOUIS ST. LAURENT: CANADIAN. By *Dale C. Thomson*. [Published on the occasion of the Centennial of Canadian Confederation.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. x, 564. \$10.95.)

THIS book is a political biography of Louis St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada from 1948 to 1957. The author, a onetime secretary to St. Laurent, is chairman of the department of political science at the University of Montreal.

St. Laurent entered politics in 1941 at the urging of Prime Minister Mackenzie King who asked him to accept the post of Minister of Justice, thus succeeding the late Ernest Lapointe as leader of the Quebec wing of the Liberal party. At the time St. Laurent was almost sixty years old. The author describes the important role played by St. Laurent in maintaining the party's support in Quebec during the conscription crises of 1942 and 1944 and his able representation of Canada in the councils of the world after his appointment as Secretary of State for External Affairs in 1946. When Mackenzie King retired from politics in 1948 St. Laurent reluctantly agreed to accept the post of party leader. He led the party to victory in the elections of 1949 and 1953, only to be defeated in the election of 1957. Shortly afterward he retired from politics.

The book contains interesting accounts of St. Laurent's struggles with the autonomy-minded Premier of Quebec, Maurice Duplessis; the important role played by Canada in the settlement of the Suez crisis of 1956; and the controversial Pipeline Debate when the government was accused of riding roughshod over the parliamentary rights of the opposition.

The picture of St. Laurent that emerges from this study is that of a mild, unassuming man who needed strong persuasion to enter politics, was reluctant to stay there, or to accept the party leadership, but nevertheless took on these responsibilities from a deep sense of duty. Although not a dynamic or forceful leader, he had great personal charm, was universally respected, and to many Canadians he was affectionately known as "Uncle Louis."

This book is well written, but follows too rigidly a chronological order that at

times gives it the appearance of a mere listing of political events. In places the author could have adopted a more critical attitude toward the actions and policies of his former chief. The main sources used are newspaper reports, parliamentary debates, personal interviews, and a fair amount of reliance on secondary sources. Although the book contains little that is startlingly new, nevertheless it serves a useful purpose in providing the reader with a good political history of Canada between the early 1940's and the late 1950's.

Sir George Williams University

HERBERT F. QUINN

MY FIRST SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS. By *Arthur R. M. Lower*. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. 1967. Pp. 384. \$8.95.)

THESE reminiscences of an eminent Canadian historian will be especially interesting to the Canadian academic world of his own and the succeeding generation. Professor Lower looks back over his life as an undergraduate at Toronto, a naval officer in World War I, a graduate student at Harvard, and professor of history both at United College, Winnipeg, and at Queen's. He has had associations with many leading Canadians as teacher, colleague, pupil, or as a fellow fighter in the various causes, intellectual and political, that have engaged him on the campus and elsewhere.

Some of the most attractive chapters in the book deal with canoe trips in the Canadian northland. Lower's encounters with the human elements of Canada have been equally strenuous and satisfying, although he notes at the end of the book that Canadians have not yet grown to the stature of the country in which they dwell. Lower has spent a long life calling them to new and better things, as, national independence, national unity, defense of their civil rights and of their national radio, a concern for their historic heritage and for their obligations as a civilized people. Lower's public efforts are common knowledge; he now explains that over the years he has lavished good advice by means of private letters on all those in a position to profit by it.

There will be, indeed there has been, criticism of this book. Memory plays tricks on all of us, and Dr. Lower is no exception. His reflections on the Conservative member of Parliament, Karl Homuth, have been condemned as inaccurate and unjust. In fairness, however, it must be said that most of his comments are charitable as well as frank. The frankness indeed may occasionally do the author a disservice. Many men might have been tempted to smooth over the rapid transition in the thirties from the repudiation of Great Britain's current policies because "Canada's interests . . . are not directly concerned . . . in Europe," to amazed frustration at the continuation of American isolationism after 1939. Few surely would have quoted the amazing retort to one who in 1935 asked who would protect Canadian trade in wartime should Canada withdraw completely from Britain. "I pointed out that our trade ceased to be our trade the moment it left our shores, and that it became someone else's duty to protect it."

People are seldom admired for the qualities on which they pride themselves. Lower emphasizes that his contribution to Canadian life has been "the professional approach, stemming out of logic and reason." Nearly all those who know him would say rather that he has consistently summoned the useful qualities of

reason and logic to the service of the deep-seated and usually admirable emotions that have dominated his life: a love of his country, a passion for freedom and justice, and a hatred of cant. These emotions give warmth and color to this significant contribution to Canadian intellectual and social history.

University of Saskatchewan

HILDA NEATBY

POLITICS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Victor Alba*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. 404. \$12.50.)

VICTOR Alba, who is now working with the American Institute for Free Labor Development, has been interested in and concerned with the Latin American labor movement and the ideologies that have influenced it for many years. His study of social ideas in Mexico, which devotes considerable attention to various ideological trends in the Mexican labor movement, is one of his best books. He has traveled widely in Latin America and has had personal contact with union groups in most of the countries of the area.

The present volume is particularly concerned with the ideas and ideologies that have influenced the trade-unions of the area. Its general data on the history of the labor movements of the various countries are sketchy, and there are rather more errors of name, date, and detail than there should be.

The book is divided into three sections: The first part deals not so much with the organized labor movement as with the labor force and labor conditions in the colonial period and the nineteenth century. The second deals with four important ideological groups that have operated within the trade-unions of the area: anarchosyndicalists, socialists, Communists, and what Alba calls the populist movements and others have called national revolutionary groups. The third section is a country-by-country sketch of the ideas and trends of the labor movements in various nations, as well as a chapter on continental labor groups.

It is with the last chapter of this third part, entitled "Contradictions and Prospects," that I would particularly quarrel. There Alba argues that Latin America is still dominated by a landed oligarchy, that the unions have become excessively and unnecessarily bureaucratized and as a result have failed to concern themselves with the more general problems of social and economic change in the Latin American countries.

It seems to me that Alba greatly exaggerates the degree to which the rural landlord dominates the Latin American societies. This class certainly is not dominant in Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica, and several other countries. The majority of the population of countries such as Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, and Chile lives in the cities, and even in countries like Brazil, where the rural landlord class is still very powerful, its influence is largely confined to having a veto power when its own direct interests are concerned.

Also, Alba is certainly wrong when, in discussing "bureaucratization" of the unions, he says "in fact, no Latin American union is sufficiently large or powerful to justify this bureaucratization: the Latin American unions of today could serve their interests quite as well by assembling their leadership, as in years past, from the rank and file, and by pursuing union interests after working hours. They have no need for salaried leaders or paid experts. . . ." He himself contradicts this in the

same chapter when he says that many unions now are "industrial unions, with consequent problems—of organization, of administration, of relations with the state and with management."

The fact is that in Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, and Chile, among other countries, union leadership is now a full-time occupation. No head of an important union can deal adequately with the economic, social, and political issues facing his organization's relations with employers and the state unless he devotes all of his time and energies to this.

Finally, Alba is mistaken, in my view, in writing off virtually all Latin American unions as not being interested in general economic and social problems. In virtually every country of the area, the unions have been an important part of the coalition favoring agrarian reform, industrialization, and economic nationalism. In most countries they have been important supporters of political democracy as well.

This is an interesting book. It is thought provoking, as are most of the things Alba writes. In spite of many errors of date, name, and incident, it is well worth reading.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

MEXICO: THE STRUGGLE FOR MODERNITY. By *Charles C. Cumberland*. [Latin American Histories.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. vi, 394. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.50.)

THIS is a book with a purpose and a thesis. Its object is to provide the general reader with an introduction for understanding the development and problems of Mexico. The author, an established scholar in the field, advances the appealing interpretation that Mexican history demonstrated that "a people cannot be forever subjugated" and that "no 'race' or social class or segment of society has a monopoly on ability and that the most precious natural resource for any nation is its people." Despite awareness of purpose, respect for the author's qualifications, and sympathy for the view of Mexican history, I must, on balance, confess my disappointment with the results.

Part of the difficulty arises inevitably from trying to compress a nation's history into three hundred pages with resultant selective emphasis, reduced detail, and actual omissions. Thus, the author chooses to focus on the Aztecs after making brief references to other preconquest peoples and ignores questions of the origin and antiquity of man in the area. Similarly, there is no mention of the development of petroleum exploitation in the Díaz period although there are two brief sentences on it in the succeeding chapter.

Conscious choice, as well as the demands of brevity, accounts for some debatable generalizations. The silver cascade did indeed make Mexico the gem of the Spanish Empire, but not until the eighteenth century. And it was the coupling of continued high birth rates with a sharp decline in death rates, rather than a marked increase in the former that accounts for the striking population increase in the decade of the 1750's. Cumberland accepts and uses as his basis for discussion the Borah-Cooke estimate of twenty million for the preconquest population with only brief recognition of the controversial nature of that figure and the absence of a consensus of acceptance.

The most serious lacuna, however, is the almost complete neglect of the cultural and intellectual life of the nation. It is hard to accept the omission of Sor Juana and José Vasconcelos, of the Mexican muralists and the novelists of the Revolution, and of the philosophers and others who have done so much to explain the Mexican search for identity and the achievement of the Revolution which "produced a nation of people with a national sense, a nation whose art, architecture and every mode of thought are distinct."

It is clear that the author has chosen to emphasize the social and economic aspects of Mexico's development. Against background chapters on the physical environment and preconquest days, he provides three chapters on society, labor, and economic life under Spanish rule. Included is an excellent description of the amalgam process employing mercury to extract silver from low-grade ore. Similarly, the next series of chapters treats the independence period, the following half century, and the Díaz regime. A highlight is the author's discussion of the economic consequences of the wars for independence.

Cumberland's own research shines through in the chapter on the "Epic Revolution" (1910-1924). He correctly credits these years of turmoil with having "laid an institutional and intellectual base which has made the Mexican Revolution one of the most significant social movements in modern times." His discussion of the Constituent Assembly at Querétaro is perceptive and illuminating. Developments of the last four decades are treated topically and selectively in a final chapter marked by considerable optimism.

The book is well organized and clearly written. It provides the general reader with an adequate introduction to Mexico's social and economic evolution. There are appended a political chronology (where, curiously, Ruiz Cortines is described as the first truly civilian President since Madero, leaving the status of Miguel Alemán somewhat ambiguous), an evaluative essay that includes most of the principal literature on Mexico, and statistical charts. It is to be regretted that Dr. Cumberland was not allocated additional space to round out his general history of Mexico.

University of Texas, Austin

STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. By *Rayford W. Logan*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 220. \$6.00.)

THE series on Latin American nations by the Royal Institute of International Affairs has proved valuable to scholars in all disciplines, and this volume covering Hispaniola is a worthy addition. Packed with information, it should be a valuable reference work for those interested in the twin republics.

Beginning with a rapid survey of the natural and human geography, Logan moves to the main sections of the book, Part Two, "History and Contemporary Politics," and Part Three, "Social and Economic Conditions." In both sections the comparative method is used, and the two racially different, mutually suspicious nations, forced, to their disgust, to share an island, lend themselves to such an approach.

Other observers, comparing the two, have tended to assert that the Dominican Republic is more advanced and even more "civilized" than the blacker Haiti. Logan skillfully and wisely avoids such value-laden judgments, and the distinc-

tions that he draws, largely based on different colonial experiences, are more interesting as a result.

The major weakness of the book is its attempt to cover too much in the space allotted. To write the vivid, turbulent history of one of these countries would have been difficult; to handle both from before Columbus to Joaquín Balaguer and "Papa Doc" in some two hundred pages was overambitious. As a result the author intermittently resorts to a mere cataloguing of names, dates, and events, with little analysis or thematic integration.

The work's unique value is its perspective and balance. Too often condescending Europeans and North Americans have treated the history and politics of the two nations as petty farce; primitive, futile apings of allegedly more civilized white societies. Especially in Haiti, where this scorn has had heavy racial overtones, the various political struggles have been condemned as the gyrations of savages. Presidents have been described as "barbarians" and "baboons."

Logan does not attempt to make heroes out of tyrants or to find deep process in anarchy, but the Dominican dictator Ulises Heureaux, for example, is condemned and then pointedly and properly compared with such men as Juan Vicente Gómez of Venezuela and Porfirio Díaz of Mexico. Faustin Soulouque of Haiti, elsewhere usually dismissed in a line as a buffoon, is described here as a tyrant, but his invasions of the Dominican Republic were partly inspired, Logan insists, by a reasonable and statesmanlike fear that a foreign power might seize control there and then threaten Haiti.

Using parallels from other parts of Latin America, the author argues that Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been typical underdeveloped nations. Some of Haiti's problems may seem greater than those of its neighbor, but such differences in degree have deeper explanations than race.

There is a selected bibliography.

University of Pittsburgh

MURDO J. MACLEOD

BRAZIL: THE LAND AND PEOPLE. By *Rollie E. Poppino*. [Latin American Histories.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 370. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.50.)

OCCUPYING half of this hemisphere's southern continent and with a population approaching ninety million, Brazil is indeed one of the promising nations of the world. Phenomenal advances in industrialization have taken place since the Great Depression, thanks in large part to the charismatic Getulio Vargas, who as dictator and popularly elected President dominated Brazil's development until 1954. With the changes in economic emphasis, new interest groups and elements, trenchantly described in the final chapter of this book, have intruded themselves into Brazilian society. The military helped in the modernization process initially; since 1964, when it took steps to avert the Left's extremism, it has channeled industrial progress into safer molds—all in a context of heated nationalism.

This stimulating series of essays on Brazilian history accentuates social and economic factors within a sketchy political framework. In Chapter iv, appropriately entitled "Boom and Bust," Professor Poppino offers a brilliant description of the economic cycles that have characterized Brazil's history since 1500 including

such exports as dyewood, sugar, gold, rubber, coffee, and many others. His point is obvious: the centuries-old pattern of monoculture, a determinant in the type of society that emerged, has been a decided liability for Brazil, thus explaining the urgency to industrialize in the years since 1930. Chapter III treats the theme of territorial expansion in a masterly fashion—the contributions of São Paulo's trail blazers (*bandeirantes*), the cowboys (*vaqueiros*) of the South and Northeast, and the gold prospectors of the eighteenth century. The chapter on "Immigrants" was likewise handled with skill, but the one dealing with "Order and Progress," the positivist slogan that inspired the Old Republic (1889-1930), proved less well organized. Excellent maps, a political chronology, and an annotated bibliography enhance the author's synthesis.

Unfortunately, the decision to minimize political developments has weakened Poppino's contribution. It has, in fact, led to some serious omissions. By not discussing adequately the 1580-1640 period, he neglected to elaborate upon the smuggling or silver cycle that was essential for understanding the founding of Colonia do Sacramento in 1680, that erstwhile symbol of Iberian rivalry. He also missed the developmental reforms of Dom Pedro of Bragança (1667-1705), those of the Marquis de Pombal (1750-1777), and the personal contributions of Emperor Pedro II to the acceleration of economic life in the second half of the nineteenth century. This criticism notwithstanding, Poppino's work should be an invaluable adjunct to courses on Brazilian history as well as an excellent review for specialists. Even the layman should enjoy perusing this well-written book, the product of vast research and serious thought.

George Washington University

MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

THE CONQUEST OF CHILE. By H. R. S. Pocock. (New York: Stein and Day Publishers. 1967. Pp. 256. \$7.95.)

A NEW book on the conquest is hardly one of our most urgent desiderata in Chilean history, for the subject has been treated by Barros Arana, Encina, and many others in Spanish, and by Cunninghame Graham and Vernon in English, while the published Medina collections of chroniclers and documents continue to provide abundant evidence from all, or practically all, sides. It seems unlikely that any significant further contribution to the existing record could now be made.

Pocock's work is not one of scholarly research, though he is aware of the sources and uses them to advantage. His purpose is to retell the narrative of the conquest and in the process to satisfy a personal curiosity about it that developed through twenty years of residence in Chile. The result is a deliberate presentation of events in sequence: the expeditions of Almagro and Valdivia, the struggle with the Araucanians, and rivalries among the Spaniards until the death of Valdivia. His style has a certain rhythmic quality that gives the work an appealing and somewhat old-fashioned tone. As history it depends mainly on the first volume of Encina, and virtually everything in it has been said before. The bibliography omits Ida Vernon's biography of Valdivia (1946) and everything written in the last twenty-five years.

University of Michigan

CHARLES GIBSON

LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS (MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, PANAMA, AND THE ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN). By *Clifford A. Hauberg*. (Minneapolis: T. S. Denison and Company. 1968. Pp. 303. \$4.95.)

THE title of this book is a misnomer. It might rather have been called "Glimpses of Mexico, Central America, and Some Caribbean Islands." The reader who turns to it for new material on, penetrating insights into, or fresh interpretations of the phenomenon of revolution in Latin America will be sadly disappointed.

The first five chapters deal with Mexico, before, during, and since the Mexican Revolution. They trace events in a chronological order, giving a bird's eye, and not always very accurate, view of each administration since that of Porfirio Díaz. A reader who knows anything at all about the Mexican Revolution will not complete this section knowing much more than he did when he began, although he may be startled by such small inaccuracies as the assertion that Vicente Lombardo Toledano "represented labor" in his presidential candidacy of 1952.

The next seven chapters deal, seriatim, with the Central American nations, adding a chapter on "Central American Interrelations" for good measure. These discussions only superficially acquaint the reader with the chronology of events of recent decades in those countries and scarcely enlighten him concerning the major problems and the contrasting characteristics of the several Central American nations. Again, such small inaccuracies as including the Somozas as members of the traditional oligarchy of Nicaragua abound.

The third section of the book deals with the "Islands of the Caribbean," with chapters on "Cuba under the Platt Amendment," "Haiti," and "Epilogue—The Dominican Republic." It is followed by a four-page chapter of conclusions.

In his discussion of Cuba's revolution, Dr. Hauberg follows basically the position of William Appleman Williams, with a pinch of Huberman and Sweezy. According to him, Castro became a Communist because of United States hostility to his regime, and he still enjoys the overwhelming support of the Cuban people, except a handful of "middle class property-owners, the oligarchy and those who resist for religious and intellectual reasons."

The discussion of Haiti is equally cursory, providing little understanding of the real nature of Haitian society or the roots of that country's present crisis. Typical perhaps is his assertion that Duvalier's election in 1957 was "apparently honest" in spite of the fact that all of his opponents were in exile or in hiding.

In dealing with the Dominican Republic, Hauberg is equally superficial. Although the chronology of events since the late 1800's is there, the reader really gets little feeling for the nature of Trujillo's absolute tyranny and the travail of the country in trying to recover from the monopoly on political activity that one man held for thirty-one years.

The over-all impression of the book is that of amateurishness. There is little evidence that the author has firsthand acquaintance with the countries with which he deals. His selection of secondary sources is somewhat haphazard, and the use to which the author puts them seems to confirm his lack of personal contact with the countries and their problems. In view of the fairly substantial volume of more authoritative material now being published on Latin America, no one needs to put this volume very high on his priority list.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

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T. Robert S. Broughton, University of North Carolina

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Bernard J. Holm, Wartburg Theological Seminary

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Leland H. Carlson, Claremont Graduate School

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Beatrice F. Hyslop, Hunter College

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Raymond E. Lindgren, California State College, Long Beach

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Charles Morley, Ohio State University

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Donald E. Worcester, Texas Christian University

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* * * * *Association Notes* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
AHA HEADQUARTERS

SEPTEMBER 28, 1968, 9:05 A.M.

The chairman, AHA President John K. Fairbank, called the meeting to order. Present were C. Vann Woodward, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; R. K. Webb, Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*; voting former Presidents Frederic C. Lane and Roy F. Nichols; and elected members Thomas C. Cochran, Caroline Robbins, John L. Snell, Jr., Lynn White, jr., and William B. Willcox. Also present at the Council's invitation was Robert L. Zangrando, Assistant Executive Secretary. Elected Council members Philip Curtin and Carl Schorske and voting former President Hajo Holborn were unable to attend.

On motion, the Council approved the draft minutes of the meeting of March 14, 1968. Also approved were the following actions taken by the Executive Committee since that meeting:

The decision not to award the George Louis Beer Prize in 1968, since the terms of that prize are under review.

Appointment of the AHA President and Executive Secretary, *ex officio*, to represent the AHA on a joint committee of the Association for Asian Studies and the AHA with a view to coordinating efforts in promoting historical studies and the study of Asian history, as proposed by the Conference on Asian History.

Increasing bonding on AHA personnel to fifty thousand dollars per person.

Applying the balance (\$4,726.28) in the Revolving Fund for Publications to the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Fund.

Assignment of the Thorndike bequest (royalties from Lynn Thorndike's *History of Mediaeval Europe*) to the AHA endowment fund.

Altering the work year for professional historians on the Association's staff from eleven months to ten and one-half months.

Approval of the salary-or-annuity option for AHA office staff in TIAA agreements, beginning July 15, 1968.

Approval of the report of the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives, and releasing it to members of Congress and others as appropriate.

The Council discussed a recommendation by the Executive Committee that the Council submit to the membership an amendment to the constitution that would allow the Council to fix the amount of dues and the types of membership. The President concluded that the Council acquiesced in the submission of this amendment to the membership.

Mr. Fairbank directed the Council's attention to the first item on the agenda, the setting of registration fees at the 1968 Annual Meeting. The Business Manager had suggested that the fee be set at two dollars for those who preregister and three dollars for those who register at the meeting. Mr. Ward noted that the new arrangements for preregistration and a published locator index were modeled on the established procedures of the Modern Language Association's annual meetings; only the three-dollar fee for those who failed to preregister would represent an increase over last year's fee. These fees were approved by a unanimous vote.

The next item was a request that the Association endorse educational television, in the form of joining the Council of Supporting Organizations of the National Citizens Committee for Public Broadcasting. It was moved and voted to take no action on the request.

The Council discussed a revision of office customs concerning leave for AHA staff members. The two major revisions are as follows: medical leave will hereafter accumulate without limit, so that it may serve more clearly as an insurance provision; and while no more than twenty days' annual leave can be compensated on termination of employment, as much as thirty days can be accumulated, allowing long-term staff members to arrange for such things as a six-week trip to Europe. The Council, on motion, approved these revisions.

The Council next acted to fill the vacancy on the Committee on Committees, caused by the resignation of John Blum. On behalf of the officers Mr. Ward nominated Mr. Henry R. Winkler; the Council approved this choice.

The Council discussed the possibility of following the lead of the American Society of International Law, in a resolution encouraging acceleration of publication of *Foreign Relations of the United States* by the Department of State. Discussion indicated agreement on the importance of this matter. Mr. White moved that the Council urge acceleration of publication of *Foreign Relations* to reduce the lag behind the authorized schedule (publication after twenty years). The motion passed.

On Mr. Ward's suggestion, the Council agreed to endorse the reprinting of the Association's *Annual Reports* from the beginning of publication through the index volumes of 1914 by the Carrollton Press, Inc., of Arlington, Virginia. The Carrollton Press will furnish the AHA with a set of the reprinted volumes in return for this endorsement.

Mr. Ward noted the desirability of using the Matteson Fund for steps preparatory to implementation of newer ways of handling the *Writings on American History*. He read the terms of the will and noted that the amount of Mr. Matteson's bequest (\$87,000.00) has by now nearly doubled, but remains inactive waiting for appropriate use. He suggested the Council charge the Committee on Bibliographical Services to History with planning uses for the Matteson Fund,

in parallel fashion to the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund except that until further notice expenditures proposed by the committee should be laid as recommendations before the Council for its action. Mr. Ward, questioned by Mr. Nichols, confirmed that editorial work on the *Writings on American History* has stopped pending new arrangements, which should incorporate the new methods projected by the Committee on Bibliographical Services. The Council agreed to instruct the committee as Mr. Ward had suggested.

Mr. Kayser presented the Treasurer's report for the ten-month period from September 1, 1967, to June 30, 1968. He explained that the Association has now changed the beginning of its fiscal year from September 1 to July 1, to agree with the practice of the federal government and most businesses. He went on to say that since the AHA is required to submit its Treasurer's report to Congress within six months after the end of the fiscal year, the Council would have to act on the report at the present meeting, instead of the December meeting, which has been the case. Mr. Kayser answered questions from Council members about various items on the budget. He noted that this year's budget was a deficit budget and that the AHA had bought real estate in the last year. The Council on motion approved and accepted the report.

Mr. Zangrando presented his Assistant Executive Secretary's report. Under an Office of Education grant a project has been completed on "The Identification of Criteria for the Effective Use of Films in Teaching History in the Classroom, in a Variety of Teaching Situations, Grades 7-12." He reported briefly on the activities of the Educational Products Information Exchange Institute (EPIE), which the Office of Education helped to establish, and on whose advisory board the Service Center serves. He also reported on a project he has been helping develop to promote grass-roots contacts among teachers, historians, and educators, within regional areas across the country, which is intended as a proposal to the Office of Education for funds under EPDA. Mr. Ward said that he preferred to wait until the proposal was actually drafted before seeking Council approval.

Mr. Ward asked the Council if there were any comments on the committee reports that they had not previously been shown and were now distributed for their information. These reports are soon to be printed in the 1967 *Annual Report*.

Mr. Fairbank turned to the next item on the agenda, a discussion of the Council's decision to change the site of the Annual Meeting from Chicago to New York City. He and Mr. Kayser reported on their September 27 meeting with the Chicago and national representatives from the Hilton Hotels. Mr. Kayser presented the hotel people's views. Mr. Fairbank recounted the argument that he had presented to them: that the main responsibility of the AHA officers was to maintain a healthy Annual Meeting and that the program would have been injured if it had been kept in Chicago. Thus, the Council viewed its action as in no way political, but merely as response to an administrative problem.

After considerable discussion, a motion was made to reverse the decision to change the site; it was defeated by a vote of twelve to one with one abstention.

All members of the Council agreed that the statement of explanation to the press and to the public in general should be as brief and unintrospective as possible. Accordingly, the following was decided on:

The Council of the American Historical Association, at its regular fall meeting on September 28, 1968, confirmed its decision to move the Association's Annual Meeting from Chicago to New York. This decision was based upon evidence that attendance and participation at the meeting would be adversely affected if it were held in Chicago in 1968.

Next the Council discussed revision of the statement to appear in the October *Newsletter*; the following was authorized:

Responding to the urging of many members following the events of August 26-30 in Chicago, the AHA Council by majority vote on September 5 took the practical decision to shift the location of the 1968 Annual Meeting from Chicago to the Statler Hilton Hotel in New York City. The Council confirmed this decision at its regular fall meeting on September 28.

The Council's action was in accord with a firm recommendation by the 1968 Program Committee, which under date of September 3 judged that to hold the meeting in Chicago offered less chance of a successful meeting than to convene it elsewhere.

The decision was above all responsive to strong expressions of opinion volunteered by AHA members in many locations, including a resolution voted 61-30 by the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA at the regular business meeting of the Branch on August 30. The representativeness of this particular vote was suggested by the even more one-sided vote in favor of a change of site in polls taken at a number of history departments in various parts of the country and reported to the Association's officers.

The Association regretted its withdrawing at this late date from its arrangements for 1968 with the Conrad Hilton Hotel, which in many previous years has proved a most satisfactory host for its meetings.

After a recess for lunch, the Council discussed steps to implement the report of the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives. The main question to be considered was whether the Association should accept the invitation to appoint two representatives to the newly created Archives Advisory Council, to be composed of the Archivist as chairman, thirteen representatives of historical, archival, and other professional organizations, and five representatives of state or local agencies or charitable, religious, educational, civic, social welfare, or other similar nonprofit organizations. Its function will be to advise the General Services Administrator on policies, procedures, programs, objectives, and other matters relating to the effectiveness of the federal archival program in providing a maximum contribution to society. Mr. White moved that the Association recommend members to serve on the Archives Advisory Council, with the expectation that the council will be free to discuss whatever matters may be relevant to a maximum contribution by the National Archives. The motion carried. Names were then suggested for the two delegates to be named by Mr. Fairbank as President.

The Council turned its attention to the recommendations of the *ad hoc* Committee on the Annual Meeting. After discussion of the purpose and date of the Annual Meeting, the Council agreed that a questionnaire, to be included in the *Newsletter*, be sent to members to determine at what times of the year they would like to have the meeting, in accordance with the committee's recommen-

dation. This questionnaire, to be drafted by the Executive Secretary, will also include other questions to discover members' views on the comparative relevance of various aspects of the meeting. Next, the Council adopted the committee's recommendation that the 1972 Annual Meeting be held in New Orleans, as a means of trying out the arrangements in a convention hall. The Council also took note of the committee's recommendation that the Annual Meetings be rotated to the East Coast, the Midwest, the West Coast, and the South, as far as this may be practicable.

Next the Council discussed the problem of permitting the arrangement of sessions at the Annual Meeting by other historical groups, under the name of "joint sessions," but concluded that this matter might better be considered by a new, standing form of the Program Committee. The Council then considered the reconstitution of the Program Committee proposed by the *ad hoc* Committee on the Annual Meeting. Mr. Snell moved that the terms of members of the Program Committee be limited to two years; the motion failed by a vote of ten to four.

Mr. Fairbank suggested that the Council vote on the whole of the paragraph on the Program Committee, as follows:

The *ad hoc* committee was unanimous in recommending that the Program Committee be constituted as a standing committee of the Association, members to be elected for a three-year term. The membership should consist of six elected members, the President and Vice-President of the Association for that year, the Executive Secretary, the Local Arrangements Chairman, and a designated staff member. As the *ad hoc* committee viewed it, the Program Committee would operate on a September to September cycle, i.e., the chairman for any given year would complete most of his work by September when the program goes to press. The new chairman would assume his duties in September, and the Vice-President that year, who would be President the following year, would join a committee in planning the meeting. This would give us almost one and a half years lead time, and since the members would be serving for the three-year term there would always be experienced members on the committee. Continuity would be further provided by the Executive Secretary and the AHA staff. Membership on the committee would be determined by the usual procedure through the Committee on Committees.

It was decided that if the Council were to agree with the committee's recommendations on the Program Committee, the Program Committee could then itself take up matters such as whether to eliminate joint sessions and present the Council with its conclusions for formal action. Mr. White moved that the committee's recommendations be accepted; the motion carried unanimously.

The final item on the agenda was consideration of the draft memorandum on "Functions of the American Historical Association." Mr. Ward pointed out that the paper now is only a draft and that when it is formally accepted and approved by the Council, he proposed to distribute copies of it to various other secretaries, make copies available to members at the Annual Meeting, and give word in the February *Newsletter* of its availability. Mr. Ward asked if Council members noted any points of substance they wished changed. Mr. Woodward and several others suggested editorial improvements.

Mr. Fairbank pointed out that the memorandum was intended to lay a basis

for some streamlining in the activities of the Association, by emphasizing priorities. There are things that only the Association can do, but there are other things that smaller groups can do for themselves. There followed a short discussion of the informality of the process by which other groups have become affiliated with the Association. When an organization, such as the Economic History Association, becomes able to arrange its own functions, it no longer meets with the AHA. Mr. Ward pointed out the complexity of AHA relations with the federal government and its agencies. It was noted that the Executive Committee in July had agreed that the AHA would do well to join with other historical groups in making representations to the federal government.

Mr. Lane urged that the AHA find some way to work toward a national institute of historical research, especially since the federal government seems unlikely to support endeavors of this nature. Mr. Lane had in mind a staff who would know what research was going on in the whole field of history and give financial and other help where it was needed. This staff could also inform the membership of matters before the government agencies and Congress involving support of the kind of research that historians wanted to do. The institute would ideally be a continuing, endowed organization.

Mr. Ward intervened to explain that the pending legislation to establish a Wilson Center for Scholars represented an intermediate goal in this direction and that since earlier efforts to find a historian who could devote half time to fund raising for the institute were unsuccessful, the Association has limited its present efforts to support of the Woodrow Wilson Center. He had information that chances were excellent for passage of the bill by Congress within the next weeks. A resolution from the AHA of support to Senator Pell and Representative Thompson, who are working for the bill, would be timely. Mr. White accordingly moved that the Council support the Wilson Center, with the proviso that after the Wilson Center is either approved or disapproved by Congress, the Association go on to pursue an institute of historical research, since the center is not designed expressly to aid historians. The motion, with the proviso, carried.

Mr. Lane asked if the AHA did not perhaps need more general research committees. He suggested that the paper on the functions of the AHA be revised to show all past research committees and that all the committees on research be grouped together. Mr. Cochran pointed out that it was best to have the smallest possible number of standing committees. The Committee on Committees was, accordingly, instructed to consolidate where possible the existing committees.

Having completed its business, the Council adjourned at 3:22 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

RECENT DEATHS

Kenneth A. MacKirdy of the University of Waterloo, Canada, died in May 1968. A specialist in the British Empire and Commonwealth, he received his doctorate from the University of Toronto in 1959.

Janet Lauck MacDonald, head of the history department at Hollins College from 1950 to 1967, died July 17. In addition to being active in the field of Asian studies, she was absorbed with the work of the American Association of University Women.

Historians, economists, and political scientists stand in debt to Bray Hammond (November 20, 1886–July 20, 1968), for he devoted his last eighteen years—and extraordinarily fruitful years they were—exclusively to meticulous research and lucid writing upon the history of banking and currency, especially in the American environment. These years were preceded by twenty as a staff member of varied functioning for the Federal Reserve Board (1930–1950): developing studies of banking structure and operations, serving on several missions to foreign countries, handling matters connected with documents on policy and historical levels, and working out study programs for visitors from foreign central banks. Experience plus research brought broad and penetrating understanding of the politico-economic confrontations involved in such problems. His Pulitzer Prize-winning volume, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (1957), exploded long-cherished mythology concerning the locus and mainsprings of monetary and credit influence in the development of the United States. A sequel, "Sovereignty and an Empty Purse" (now in press), shows how financing of the Civil War facilitated growth in the power of the central government. It was a high privilege to have with this outstanding scholar the comradely relationship that he maintained with other laborers in that vineyard. If four attributes were to be singled out, they could include unsparing thoroughness in research, precision in thought and diction, persistent exploration for previously unidentified factors in situations, and a humane understanding of the political environment in which economic forces move and have their being.

Ulysses S. Grant III of Washington, D. C., died August 29.

George Peabody Gooch, the dean of British historians, an honorary member of the American Historical Association since 1945, and a former president of Britain's Historical Association, died on August 31 in his ninety-fourth year. Educated in Eton, King's College (London), and Trinity College (Cambridge), Gooch showed remarkable abilities in his youth. At Trinity he won the Lightfoot Scholarship and placed first in the Historical Tripos; he also won the Thirlwall Prize with a dissertation "involving original historical research," which was published as *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*. He then competed, at the urging of Acton and Maitland, for the then nonexistent Trinity Fellowship in History, but its unavailability proved a turning point in his life. Subsequently he declined numerous tempting offers from several universities, preferring "the wider opportunities and experiences of London life." Late in the 1890's he lectured at Toynbee Hall and at the Working Men's College while preparing his second book (*Annals of Politics and Culture, 1492–1899*). His liberal creed meanwhile welded him to the cause of the Liberal party during the

Boer War, and in 1906 he was elected to Parliament, forthwith becoming Parliamentary Private Secretary to Bryce (then the Chief Secretary for Ireland). Fortunately for historical scholarship his parliamentary career ended in 1910. In 1911 he became an editor and then senior editor of the *Contemporary Review*, a position he held with distinction until 1960.

Gooch was an omnivorous reader with astonishing memory; he was also a prolific writer. His first book was published in 1898, and his last in 1966. Between his editorial duties and lecturing, he wrote more than a dozen substantial works in modern history, among them *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* and *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*. He also edited (with Ward) the three-volume *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919*, and (with Temperley) *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*. Gooch approached his studies seriously and solemnly, combining late Victorian earnestness with the exacting and exhilarating creed of the Cambridge historical school of his early years. His writings are marked by their objectivity, sobriety, and serenity.

Gooch was a superb lecturer and as such spent much time abroad: at the International Summer School in Vienna, at the university and the *Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin, and annually (1931-1938) at the Geneva Institute of International Relations. In 1927 he delivered the Lowell Lectures, subsequently published as *Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy*. As a man of multiple interests he was active in a number of organizations: Meetings Committee of Chatham House, League of Nations Union, Royal Society of Literature, and the English Goethe Society. He served on the board of the International Congress of Historical Sciences and presided over its meeting in Prague in 1933. He was elected to the British Academy in 1926, held honorary degrees from Durham and Oxford, was an honorary fellow of his "beloved" college, and was twice honored by his sovereigns, first with the Companion of Honor and on his ninetieth birthday with the Order of Merit. He was also honored by his peers with a *Festschrift* in 1961. In his long, fruitful, and useful life he encouraged and aided two generations of students, and it was his supreme delight to see many of them attain eminence. A kind and gentle soul of utter humility, Gooch probably wrote more prefaces to works of budding scholars and delivered more scholarly but unpaid lectures than any historian on either side of the Atlantic.

Crane Brinton, MacLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History Emeritus in Harvard University, died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 7. He was seventy years old and had retired from active teaching at the close of the preceding academic year. Few historians of his time have been more productive or more widely influential both within and outside the profession.

Born in 1898 in Winsted, Connecticut, he attended Harvard College, taking his A.B. there in 1919, and as a Rhodes scholar went on to Oxford University, where he earned the D.Phil. in 1923. He returned to Harvard as an instructor in history and rose through the ranks to a professorship in 1942. He was a senior

fellow of the Society of Fellows and for twenty-two years presided over the society as its chairman. During World War II he served with the Office of Strategic Services in London and Washington. In 1957-1958 he was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

His combination of erudition, sophistication, kindliness, and a gentle flippancy made him one of Harvard's most popular teachers and a good companion. His course on the intellectual history of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for many years attracted the largest enrollment of any class in Harvard College. He had a reputation—justified, he conceded—as an easy grader for undergraduates, but he could be an exacting tutor and seminar director, insisting on the same high standards of scholarship, reflection, and expression that he imposed upon himself. He was a stimulating conversationalist, a delightful walking and motoring companion, and a discriminating gourmet. No American knew the back roads of New England, the public paths of the home counties, or the starred restaurants of France better than he.

He served the profession in many ways and received numerous professional honors. He was President of the American Historical Association in 1963, President of the Society for French Historical Studies in 1962-1963, and a member of the editorial boards of the *American Scholar*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *French Historical Studies*, and *History and Theory*. The National Institute of Arts and Letters elected him to membership in 1955, and he was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a knight of the Legion of Honor.

Brinton's bibliography includes fifteen volumes. Among them is one monograph based on archival research, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History*, first published in 1930 and republished in 1961. Brinton called it his "brick for the temple of scholarship." His typical books are works of synthesis and interpretation, all of them marked by fresh insights and pleasing literary style. Probably most influential is *The Anatomy of Revolution*, the outgrowth of a series of Lowell Lectures, published in 1938 and issued in revised editions in 1952 and 1965. Together with *A Decade of Revolution, 1789-1799* (1934), it established him as an authority on revolutions with a reputation that extended beyond the bounds of academe. Among his other books, *The Lives of Talleyrand* (1936), *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (1933), and *Ideas and Men* (1950) have influenced generations of American students. His last book, *The Americans and the French*, which appeared only a few months before his death, reflects a lifetime of perceptive observation of America and France and is a final delight to all who cherish the Brintonian wit and style.

Mario Toscano, an honorary member of the Association since 1961, died in Rome, September 16. His was a threefold career—public servant, teacher, scholar—and he was an Italian patriot, as emerges from his recent work on the Alto Adige. When the Italian government decided to publish the *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, Toscano was named vice-president and later president of the commission for their publication; he served directly as editor of the Eighth and

Ninth Series. For his many years of service as historical adviser, as chief of studies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and on Italian delegations to the UN General Assemblies, he was granted the title of ambassador.

Toscana was born June 3, 1908, at Turin; in 1931 he received his degree at Milan and published his first work, a study of minorities under international law. After appointments at Cagliari (1934-1936) and Turin (1936-1938) he was made professor in 1942. From 1953 on he held the chair at the University of Rome in the history of treaties and international politics.

Among his more than twenty monographs the outstanding ones are *Il Patto di Londra* (1934); *Gli accordi di San Giovanni di Moriana* (1936); *Guerra diplomatica in Estremo Oriente 1914-1931* (1950). A number of special studies on the diplomacy of the two world wars were reprinted in 1963 as *Pagine di storia diplomatica contemporanea*. In 1955 Bernadotte Schmitt acclaimed Toscana "as one of the premier diplomatic historians of our time." The maestro continued to revise many of his studies as more materials became available. The English-speaking world can rejoice in the American edition of *The History of Treaties and International Politics* (1966) and in the third edition of *The Origins of the Pact of Steel* (1967). His death means a great loss to the republic of scholars.

Robert Earl McClendon of Sam Houston State College died in Huntsville, Texas, October 1.

AHA members who have died recently include: J. N. Bowman of Berkeley, California; Harold Davis of Bradford, Massachusetts; Francis Fenner of Rensselaer, Indiana; Erwin Klaus, O.F.M., of St. Bonaventure, New York; Robert M. Langdon of Annapolis, Maryland; Hervey P. Prentiss of Kutztown, Pennsylvania; Katherine L. Renich of Woodstock, Illinois (fifty-year member).

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Wilburn [see *AHR*, LXXIV (Oct. 1968), 423] confuses verifiable data with value judgments. Opinions may be well or ill founded, but they cannot be accurate or inaccurate.

I welcome her belated recognition of the Olcott Papers but not their dismissal as irrelevant. This alphabetically arranged collection is difficult to use for a person concerned only with a two-year period; yet the papers are very revealing to someone seeking to understand Bank War politics and Olcott's "especially significant" role on the basis of available documentation. I found them so.

Universidad de Chile

FRANK OTTO GATELL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

William A. Renzi's article, "Italy's Neutrality and Entrance into the Great War" (*AHR*, LXXIII [June 1968], 1414-32), which I found interesting both because of its rich documentation and its convincing analyses, contains a mistake that is irrelevant in the Italian context, but has misleading implications with regard to German policy in the pre-1914 period. Renzi maintains in his footnote 16 that in November 1906 German Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow "angered by Italy's conduct at Algeciras, actually told the *Reichstag*: 'If Italy leaves the Triplice, we will permit Austria to declare war against it.'"

German policy during the Wilhelminian period was certainly not famous for tact. Still, for the Imperial Chancellor to make such a statement from the platform of the national legislature would have been more than one would expect to have been possible even in Berlin at that time. Such a statement would have implied: that the Triple Alliance had already so deteriorated as to make it necessary to prevent its rupture by a threat; that in the event of a rupture Germany was prepared to mete out punishment to the state that, for the moment, was still an ally; and that the sovereign Habsburg monarchy would need anyone's permission to declare war. Bülow was certainly capable of irresponsible action, but he had too much diplomatic polish to engage publicly in such crudities.

Actually, Bülow said something quite different: "Wenn Italien sich vom Dreibund löste oder eine schwankende und zweideutige Politik machte, so würde das die Chancen einer grossen und allgemeinen Konflagration erhöhen. . . . Der Dreibund hat neben anderem auch den Vorteil, dass er Konflikte zwischen den Verbündeten ausschliesst. Wenn Österreich und Italien nicht Verbündete wären, so könnten die Beziehungen zwischen beiden gespannt werden." [If Italy were to separate itself from the Triple Alliance or if it engaged in a wavering or ambivalent policy, the chances of a big and general conflagration would be increased. . . . The Triple Alliance has the advantage, among others, that it makes conflicts between the allies impossible. If Italy and Austria were not allies, tensions might arise between them.] (Quoted from *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags, Stenographische Berichte*, 11. Legislaturperiode, II. Session 1906/6, 117. Sitzung, November 14, 1906, V, 3626.)

Renzi did not take the sentence directly from the *Reichstag* records but from André Tardieu, *La conférence d'Algésiras*. Tardieu gives at first a correct translation of Bülow's real statement and then adds, "En autres termes: 'Si l'Italie sortait de la Triplice, nous laisserions l'Autriche lui déclarer la guerre.'" This is essentially what Renzi quoted, only it is Tardieu's paraphrasing, not Bülow's statement. Tardieu must have been carried away by his desire to drive a wedge between Germany and Italy because this paraphrasing is unwarranted and below the level of such a highly intelligent and experienced man. Other reasons aside, Bülow knew, and everyone in the diplomatic world knew that Bülow knew, that with the exception of General Conrad von Hötzendorf and possibly the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, very few Austrians in responsible positions wanted war with Italy: the Habsburg monarchy certainly was not waiting to be "unleashed" by Germany. If Bülow's words had implied a threat, therefore, it would have been

an empty one. He was a man of smooth words and may just have seized upon a well-sounding phrase, but if there was an implied political meaning in his statement it must have been about this: if Italy left the Triple Alliance, an imbalance would have been created, and France, counting on Russian and possibly on British help, might have considered the opportunity auspicious to take back Alsace-Lorraine from Germany; this would have meant a general conflagration that no one, least of all Italy, could desire.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL LANDAUER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am indebted to Professor Landauer for drawing attention to an error in my article. The *Reichstag* debates for the year 1906 were, unfortunately, unavailable to me; the resultant misquote perhaps best serves to illustrate the perils involved in working with a secondhand source.

Landauer also comments on the European diplomatic scene before the Great War. I agree that had Bülow uttered such a direct threat before the *Reichstag* in 1906 it would in reality have been a bluff. But I would also like to suggest that prior to 1914 Landauer's analysis might have been questioned among members of the Italian government, for more than once they exaggerated the danger of Austrian aggression against Italy. This was caused in part by simple misreading of the political situation. In particular, the Italian government occasionally overestimated the membership and influence of the anti-Italian clique in Vienna. But the German government also encouraged this misconception in what at times resembled a policy of near intimidation.

One example comes readily to mind. In reviewing the diplomatic documents in the Giovanni Giolitti MSS (now in the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato*, Rome), one finds that during the fall and winter of 1911 Kiderlen-Wächter and Bethmann Hollweg encouraged their Italian ally to renew prematurely the Triple Alliance in part because of the Emperor Franz Joseph's failing health (the alliance was to expire in July 1914). Their implication in speaking with Italian Ambassador Carlo Lanza was that Franz Joseph's passing would strengthen and encourage the anti-Italian clique in Vienna and increase Austrian hostility vis-à-vis Italy. Perhaps the Austrians might therefore hesitate to renew the tie with Italy at a later date. Thus the Italian government would do well to renew the alliance now, since it could function as a guarantee against possible Austrian aggression.

The implied danger of Austrian aggression was on occasion very much a part of German policy toward Italy. It was, of course, an empty threat, or nearly so. Yet the Italian government sometimes gave it unwarranted significance. Landauer is quite correct in asserting that Bülow did not actually voice this threat, at least in readily recognizable form, before the *Reichstag* in November 1906. But I am not completely sure that Bülow did not intend the Italian government to grasp that meaning from his words. The German government, including the Kaiser, had

been angered by Italy's conduct at Algeciras. It offered striking proof that Italy had become the weak link in the Triplice and was at best a nominal ally. This might have occasioned such an implied warning, and Bülow's apparent allusion to the adage that Italy and Austria could be only allies or enemies could certainly be interpreted as pointing in that direction. I agree, however, that Tardieu's paraphrasing takes too much liberty with the literal text of Bülow's remarks, and that my subsequent direct quotation was in error.

University of California, Davis

WILLIAM A. RENZI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Replying to an unfavorable review is normally an exercise in futility; still, some rejoinders are in order to Mrs. E. F. Hirsch concerning her assessment of my *Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation* (AHR, LXXIII [June 1968], 1546).

Since she evaluates in terms of single, isolated matters she might have made specific page references for a reader's sake. She questions why I replaced an older designation of Corro as an "Evangelical Christian" by that of "Evangelical Calvinist" when, as a Calvinist pastor at Antwerp in 1566-1567, he refused to condemn Anabaptists and Schwenckfeldians, this position hinting at unorthodoxy. Obviously, if he was a Calvinist minister who was not intransigent on toleration, and then not yet in difficulties of a doctrinal character—with congregational approval so far as I could tell—then he was a Calvinist per se; had the reviewer sufficiently digested what I hoped was an understandable definition of the "Evangelical Calvinist" positions on pages 27 and 80, this rather nit picking comment would not have been made. Along similarly picayune lines, I simply fail to find an explicit Eucharistic discussion as Mrs. Hirsch has me having. Nor do I accept her rather strained emphasis on the purely linguistic aspect of her point there, taken from a French version I did not use (if I follow her unpaginated reference correctly). As the book makes clear I relied mainly on more available contemporary English versions of Corro's writings. Thirdly, as I saw it, Pastor Merlin's conflicting comments on Corro at the Toulousain church resulted in his effective neutrality, Mrs. Hirsch notwithstanding. And to which of Beza's letters in the 1560's and to which "interesting" matters does she refer? One letter is not likely to be in the 1560's; this is rather too general dating, and Beza wrote quite a few unfriendly letters about (and to) Corro, which I made use of. Last but not least, in substantive matters, Saravia was half-Spanish through his father, as originally noted, which is why I discussed him in the appendix. The numerous mechanical errors were not my doing, incidentally.

Mrs. Hirsch's review exemplifies a typical "missing the forest for the trees" situation. It is for that reason I reply at some length, not because she clearly dismisses the book as bad, unimportant, and so forth. She surely is entitled to her opinion, which, however, she ought to back up more solidly and by discussing the work's main ideas, not its comparative trivia. Superficially analytical and interpretive ability, however, remains her constant, as I noted in my review of her

biography of the Portuguese humanist, Gois, in the *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* in 1967. But I think I gave the reader a fairly complete picture of her book, which most assuredly she failed remotely to do for mine.

Michigan State University

PAUL J. HAUBEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In answer to Professor Hauben's complaint about my review of his book, I will say without going into further detail that it is precisely because his book lacks substance that the reviewer is left with "trees" rather than the "forest." Professor Hauben should know that I do not stand alone in my judgment on the weaknesses of his book. He would serve the scholarly community well if he corrected the unfavorable impression made by his book with a more profound study of his interesting topic.

Trenton State College

ELISABETH FEIST HIRSCH

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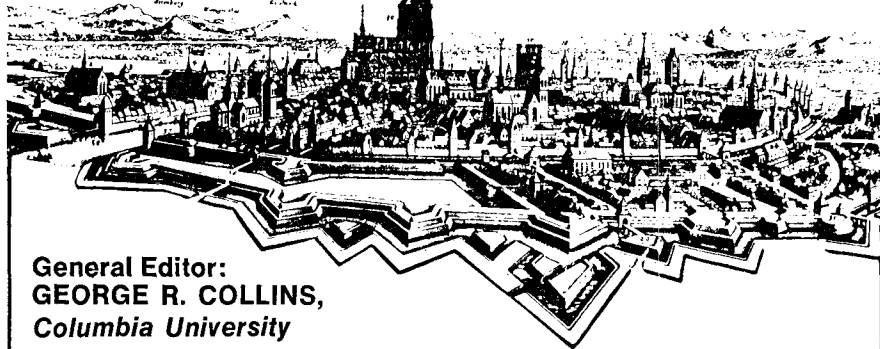
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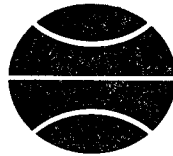
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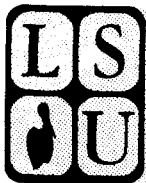
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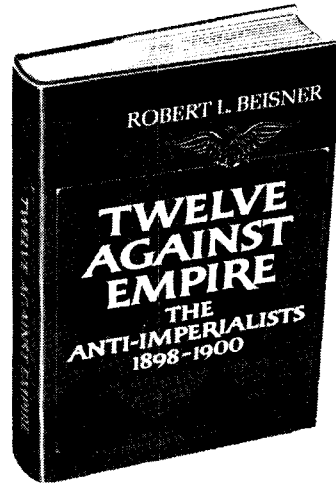
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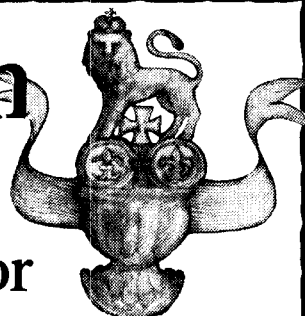
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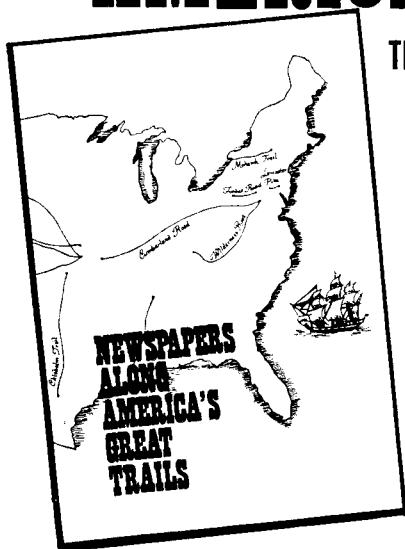
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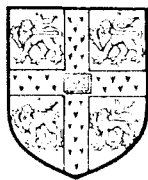
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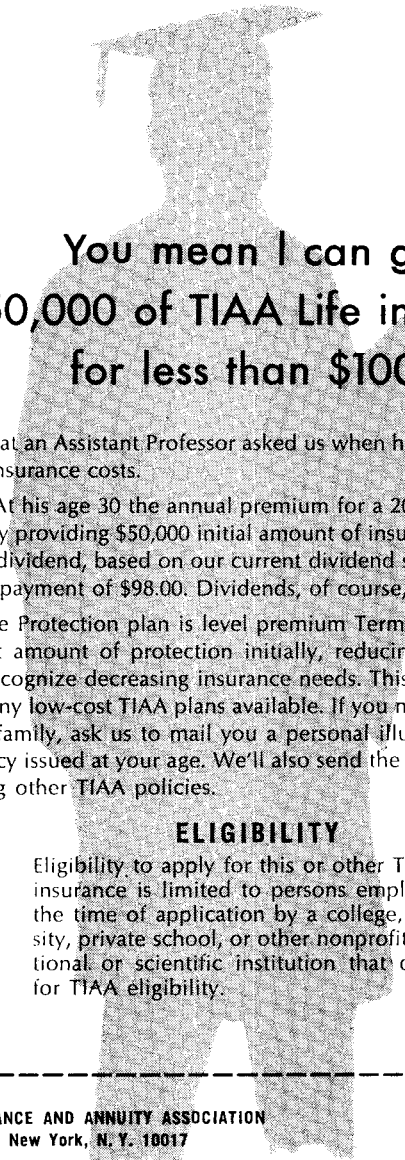
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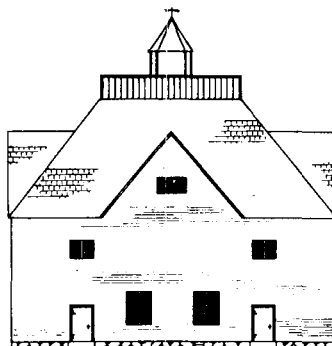
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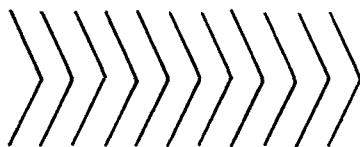
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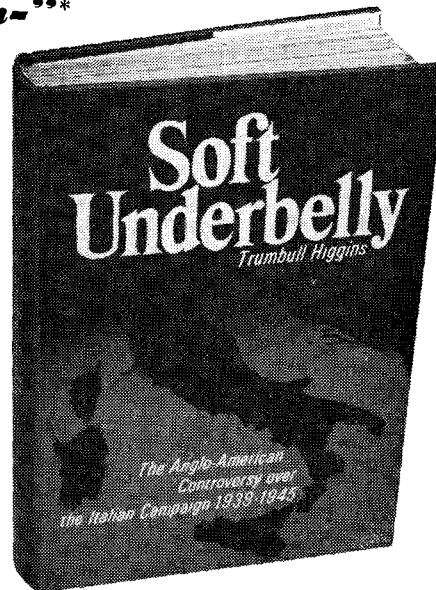
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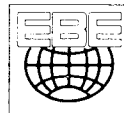
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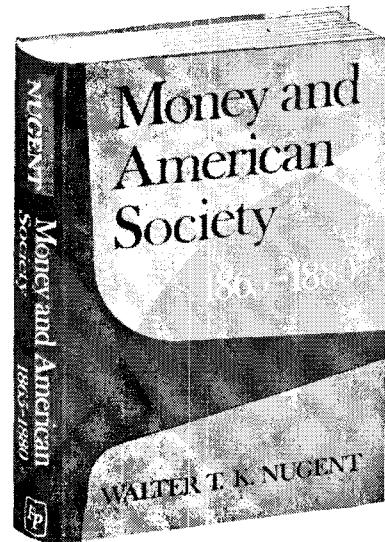
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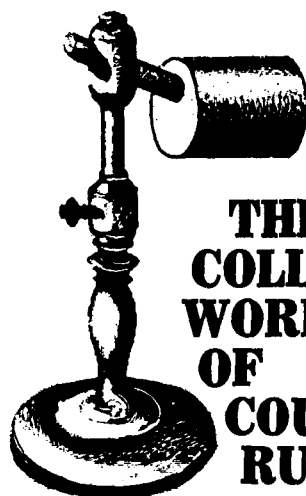
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